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THE PRINTERS

A STUDY IN
AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM

BY

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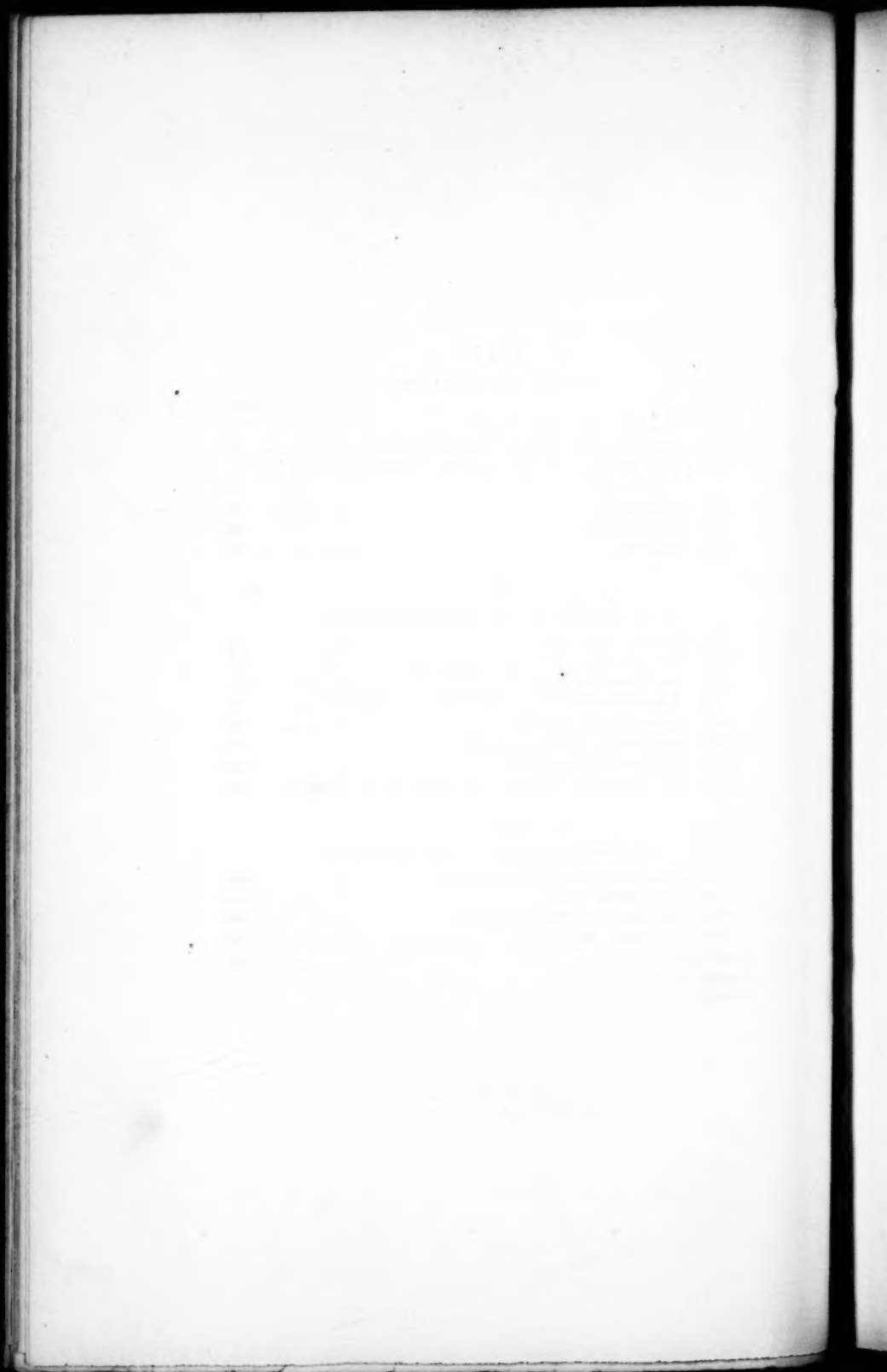
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PREFACE

The studies of American trade unionism which have heretofore been made, apart from descriptions of important historical episodes, fall into two classes. They either deal comparatively with some one phase of the subject or they describe and estimate a single policy of some important union. The present monograph differs from previous studies in that it aims to give a complete description of an American trade union. It has been undertaken in the belief that a study which included in connected form an account of the history, structure, and activities, even of a single union, would serve to supplement previous contributions by indicating the relations between the different parts of the subject. The Printers have been selected for description chiefly because their history covers a long period, and it is therefore possible to trace to their origin policies and methods which have since been adopted by other unions. Moreover, the records of the Printers, both local and national, have been better preserved than those of any other American union.

The present study does not include any account of the relations of the Printers with the organized workmen of other trades. It is a study in trade unionism, in the narrower sense, as distinguished from industrial unionism. The International Typographical Union, the central organization of the Printers, and, to a less extent, the local unions of printers have included at one time or another pressmen, bookbinders, typefounders, stereotypers and electrotypers, photo-engravers, newspaper writers, and mailers. The total number of workmen of allied trades thus affiliated has, however, at no time been more

than one-tenth of the number of printers. Moreover, the unions of allied trades, with one exception, have either withdrawn from the International Typographical Union to form independent national organizations, or, as in the cases of the typefounders and the newspaper writers, have dissolved their organizations. Interesting and important as the attempts to bring the workmen of all the printing trades into a federation are as experiments in industrial unionism, they form no integral part of the history of the Printers.

I am deeply indebted to many persons for aid in the prosecution of this study. President James M. Lynch and Secretary J. W. Bramwood of the International Typographical Union have not only been uniformly kind in giving information, but have also permitted me to use the records of the International Union, which include unpublished official decisions and correspondence. Mr. William B. Prescott, president of the International Union from 1891 to 1898, has spared much time and trouble to explain many phases of the union's policy in the light of an intimate acquaintance with a most important part of its history. The officers of the employers' associations in the printing trade have been equally courteous. Secretary John Macintyre of the United Typothetae and the late Mr. Frederick Driscoll, Commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, cheerfully gave information concerning the activities of their organizations. Mr. William Green, as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Typothetae, allowed me to read the unpublished minutes of his committee. The secretaries of the venerable New York and Philadelphia typographical societies permitted me to have transcripts made of the early minutes of their societies. I have received also much valuable help, of which I can here make but general

acknowledgement, from the officers and members of local unions and from employing printers.

Suggestion and encouragement have been received at every stage of the inquiry from Professor Jacob H. Hollander. Dr. D. A. McCabe has kindly read a considerable part of the manuscript and has made many useful suggestions. I have followed, as far as my material permitted, the classification of trade-union function and the terminology employed by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their "Industrial Democracy."

Parts of chapter XI appeared in an article, entitled "Introduction of the Linotype", in the *Yale Review* for November, 1904, and parts of chapters V and XVIII were published in "Studies in American Trade Unionism", edited by Hollander and Barnett (Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1906). I am indebted to the editors of the *Yale Review* and to Messrs. Henry Holt and Company for permission to reproduce them here.

GEORGE E. BARNETT.

Johns Hopkins University,
May, 1909.

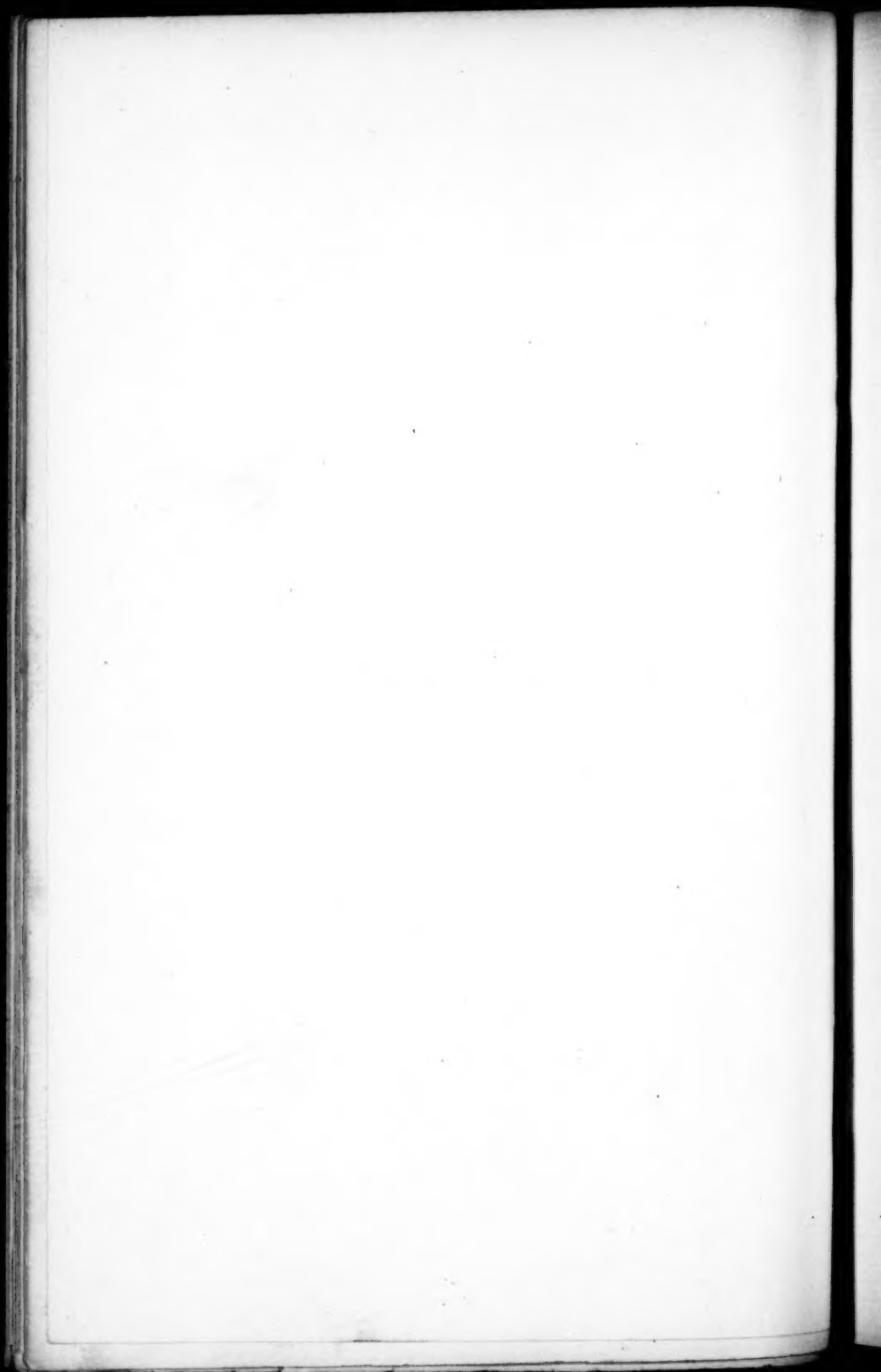
THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
BY JOHN STOW
1618

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PART I
HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT



CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF LOCAL UNIONS

The history of association among American journeymen printers begins with the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Mass meetings for the purpose of considering trade questions were held in New York in 1776 and in Philadelphia in 1786;¹ and it is probable that similar meetings were called from time to time. At these meetings a statement of the demands of the journeymen was formulated; a committee was appointed to deal with the employers, if a new wage list had been framed; and the printers present pledged themselves to stand out for the prices agreed upon. Such temporary organizations were formed naturally in times of general discontent, when the feeling that the prices for work were unsatisfactory was widespread.

Continuous organizations of journeymen printers, known as societies or associations, were formed in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston before the close of the eighteenth century or shortly thereafter. In New York, an association known as The Typographical Society was in existence from 1795 to 1797. None of its minutes are preserved, but it is probable that it maintained for a time a price list.² In 1799 the Franklin Typographical Society was organized in the same city. Our information concerning it is confined almost entirely to refer-

¹ Ethelbert Stewart, "A Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers," in *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, No. 61, November, 1905, p. 860.

² *Ibid*, p. 863.

ences in the minutes of other societies of the period.³ In December, 1802, the Philadelphia Typographical Society received from the "Franklin Association" a letter, "intimating their appointment of a committee for the purpose of drafting a petition to Congress for laying an additional duty on imported European books." In August, 1803, during an epidemic of yellow fever in New York, a committee was appointed by the Philadelphia society to solicit subscriptions for the relief of "journeymen printers distressed by the calamity which has befallen the city of New York." They reported that they had collected \$83.60; and on September 17, 1803, a letter of acknowledgment from Mr. Jacob Franks, the president of the Franklin society, was read to the directors of the Philadelphia society. Under date of August 26, 1809, the secretary of the New York Typographical Society, organized in that year, wrote that the price for presswork then paid had been "instituted by a former association in this city." The Franklin society had disbanded probably about 1804. The New York Typographical Society is still in existence.

The Philadelphia Typographical Society was organized in 1802, and is still active. There is some evidence, however, that there had been in Philadelphia a society of journeymen printers previous to this. At the first meeting of the directors of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, on November 13, 1802, a committee was appointed to obtain the books and papers of "the former

³ The early minutes of the Philadelphia Typographical Society and of the New York Typographical Society have been preserved and are in the possession of these societies. They are, as far as is known, the earliest records extant of American trade societies. An additional source of information for this period is a series of articles entitled, "A Historical Sketch of the Philadelphia Typographical Society," published in the *Printers' Circular*, Vols. 2, 3 (1867-1869). The author of these articles had access to important letters which have since been lost.

Asylum Company", and it was ordered "that the constitution be left open for the signatures of the former members on complying with the usual prescriptions." It is possible that the "former members" were members of the Asylum Company. On the other hand, the Typographical Society had been in existence for some months before the constitution was adopted, and the "former members" may have been those who had joined in the initial stages of organization.

The date of the beginning of continuous organizations of printers in Baltimore is equally uncertain. The Philadelphia society received letters from the Baltimore Typographical Society on June 28, and on November 25, 1803. Neither communication gives any indication as to when the Baltimore society was organized. There was a society of printers in Baltimore in 1809,⁴ and in 1811 the New York society ordered that a copy of an oration recently delivered before it should be sent to the president of the Baltimore Typographical Society. In 1815 the Columbia Typographical Society received a letter from the Baltimore Typographical Association. Whether the Association was the same organization as the Baltimore Society of 1803 cannot be determined.⁵

The existence of a society in Boston in 1803 is indicated by the resolution adopted by the Philadelphia society on December 24, 1803, directing its president to "write immediately to the presidents of the societies of Boston, Baltimore, and New York." The directors of the Phila-

⁴ Glocker, T. W., "Trade Unionism in Baltimore before the War of 1812," in *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, April, 1907.

⁵ The terms "society" and "association" appear to have been used interchangeably. In the minutes of the Philadelphia society, for example, the Franklin Society is sometimes referred to as the Franklin Association. The mere difference in the name as given in the minutes would, therefore, not prove that the organization was a different one or even that it had changed its name.

delphia society on August 26, 1809, received a communication from the Boston Typographical Society "containing a list of their prices, etc." It is possible that this was the same society referred to in 1803. In 1811 the New York society ordered a copy of an address delivered before it to be sent to the president of the Boston society. Sometime between 1811 and 1815, the society dissolved, for a new society was organized in Boston on November 25, 1815.⁶ There were thus organized in Boston from 1803 to 1815 certainly two societies and perhaps three.

No societies appear to have been formed outside of the four cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston before 1810. On June 30 of that year, the directors of the Philadelphia society received a communication "from the New Orleans Typographical Society enclosing a copy of their constitution," and "the president was authorized to write them a suitable answer." In 1815 societies were organized at Washington and Albany.

The societies formed from 1802 to 1815 were of a uniform type. All, as far as our information extends, were organized primarily to "raise and establish prices." The Philadelphia society, before it adopted a constitution, presented a price list to the employers. At a meeting of the New York society on July 29, 1809, less than one month after its organization, the members were urged to augment the membership "to the end that we may effect our grand purpose, the raising and establishing our prices." In a letter to the Washington society in 1815, John Revell, the president of the Baltimore association, declared that, in his opinion, "the establishment of a regular system of prices" was "very essential to the promotion of the inter-

⁶MS. Minutes of the New York Typographical Society, March, 1816.

est and happiness of every association of a mechanical nature."⁷ All of the societies had in addition well defined beneficiary functions. The year 1815 marked the height of the movement. At that time, societies maintaining price lists were in operation in Washington, Baltimore, Boston, Albany, New York, and, perhaps, in New Orleans. In Philadelphia alone of the larger cities in the country, there was no association which attempted the regulation of prices, for the Philadelphia society had already become a purely beneficiary organization.

The period from 1815 to 1830 was highly unfavorable to the development of such associations. With the exception of the Franklin Society of Boston, organized in 1822 as a purely beneficiary association, no new society appears to have been formed during these years. Moreover, practically all the societies which had been organized in the earlier period either disbanded or transformed themselves into benefit societies. The New York society abandoned its attempt to maintain a price list in 1818, and the society formed in Boston in 1815 disbanded after a brief existence. The Baltimore and Albany societies survived somewhat longer, but by the year 1825 the only organizations of printers in the great printing centers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were purely beneficiary societies. The only society that survived to 1830 without entirely giving up the regulation of wages was the Columbia Society of Washington; and until 1835 its functions were chiefly beneficiary. Two facts thus stand out prominently in the history of the early societies: The greater part of them were short-lived, and those which did survive for any considerable time became purely beneficiary societies or subordinated greatly their trade-regu-

⁷ MS. Letter book of the Columbia Typographical Society, December, 1815.

lating aims. The chief point of interest in the history of the early societies lies in the explanation of these facts.

It has been sometimes suggested that the fear of criminal prosecution and, more particularly, the apprehension excited by the well-known prosecutions of the Cordwainers in Philadelphia in 1806, and in Baltimore and New York in 1809, retarded the development of trade unionism in the United States. The minutes of the Philadelphia and New York societies do not support this conjecture. Both societies carried their demands openly to the employers. In Philadelphia, in 1802, the names of the members of the society were printed at the foot of the price list. As far as can now be ascertained, the employers never suggested that such combinations were punishable criminally. The answer of the master printers to the proposal for an increase in wages made by the New York society in 1809 contains no hint that they considered the journeymen to be engaged in a lawless conspiracy.⁸

The trade-regulating activities of the societies were in no way affected by the prosecutions of the Cordwainers. No mention of the Philadelphia case is made in the minutes of the Philadelphia society, and the policy of the society showed no indication of change until much later. A very interesting series of passages in the minutes of the New York society details the proceedings on the occasion of the prosecution of the New York Cordwainers.⁹ A committee of the society reported that the charge against the Cordwainers was "in the letter of the law an unlawful combination for the purpose of raising and establishing prices." It was not until eight years later that the society gave up its purpose of "raising and establishing prices."

The real reason for the relinquishment by the societies

⁸ See Appendix 4.

⁹ The minutes of the New York society relating to the Cordwainers are printed as Appendix 1.

of their trade aims, if the experience of the New York and Philadelphia societies was typical, was the lack of support from the journeymen printers as a whole. All of the early societies were probably organized as the result of a widespread feeling that some concerted action was necessary either to increase wages or to prevent a reduction. Certainly the New York and Philadelphia societies came into existence under such circumstances. At the outset, a considerable number of the journeymen printers were willing to join, and those who did not probably supported the demands of the society.¹⁰ Where the society did not accomplish its purpose it probably fell to pieces almost immediately. If, on the other hand, it won its point, it continued to live and developed as a partly beneficiary and partly trade-regulating society. But the immediate aim of the society having been accomplished, members gradually lost interest and many ceased to pay dues or withdrew altogether.

In Philadelphia the paying membership of the society began to decline shortly after the establishment of a price list in 1802. The paying membership in 1802 was 54; and in 1806 the nominal membership, which included many who had no active connection with the society, was only 68.¹¹ In 1810 only 50 members were in good stand-

¹⁰ The friendly feeling between the "non-associated journeymen" and the Philadelphia society is illustrated by an incident which occurred in 1803. On August 22, the directors of the society received a committee "from the printers who have met at Mr. Kitts's." The committee assured the directors of the support of the unaffiliated journeymen, who outnumbered the members of the society.

¹¹ The society, as its president pointed out in 1807, was "established upon a principle differing from all other benevolent institutions, viz., that it has no power to expel a member who refuses to pay his fine or contribution." A member who did not pay his dues for three months lost his right to relief and his right to vote, but he might resume active membership at any time he pleased (MS. Minutes of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, May 2, 1807).

ing, a smaller number than the society had at its origin. The experience of the New York society was not substantially different, except that interest was longer sustained. In 1815, six years after its formation, the society was able to establish a new price list. In 1816 complaints that members would not pay their dues became frequent. On March 30 of that year, a committee was appointed "to propose a method whereby the members of the society may be increased; and to compel all those working at the business as regular journeymen to become journeymen members"; but the committee could devise no better plan than the appointment of a "committee of vigilance", whose duty it should be to induce unaffiliated journeymen to join.

The mere falling off in numbers would not necessarily have worked the elimination of the trade-regulating activities, since in any emergency the membership might have been increased from the "non-associated journeymen." But the decrease in numbers was accompanied by a change in the character of the membership. Those who remained in affiliation and such new members as came in were, for the most part, attracted by the beneficiary activities, which, in ordinary times, constituted most of the work of the societies. The whole attention of the societies thus gradually came to be centered on their beneficiary functions.

A peculiar feature of the scheme of benefits adopted by the New York and Philadelphia societies contributed to this result. The constitutions of both societies provided that a member who had paid dues for ten years became "free", and was not required to pay dues, although retaining his beneficiary rights. Both societies realized that if they were to carry out this compact productive funds must be accumulated. The expenditures of the two

societies were always small in comparison with their incomes, and the savings were invested. After an existence of eight years, the Philadelphia society had bank shares of a par value of \$1000, the dividends on which constituted about one-fourth of the total income of the society. The New York society, though it had paid less attention to the accumulation of a fund at the outset, had by 1818 productive investments to the amount of \$700.

As the funds of the societies increased, and the time approached when many members would be relieved from the payment of dues, every diversion of funds to any other purpose than those prescribed in the constitution was vigorously resisted. On March 7, 1818, the directors of the New York society, in protesting against an allowance to the wife of a member not sanctioned by the rules, said: "In a short time many members will have paid in their full amount of dues . . . Thus the income will diminish while the expense and demands will continue the same; and these worthy and faithful men must be remembered in our proceedings that we may be able to do them justice in time of sickness and distress." A feeling grew up in both societies that new members, since they had contributed nothing to the funds, should pay a larger initiation fee than had originally been required. In the Philadelphia society the fee was raised from one to two dollars in 1807, and in 1810 it was raised to five dollars. In the New York society the fee was increased in 1813 and again in 1818.¹²

As the accumulated funds increased, the societies began to be solicitous concerning their safety from theft. In

¹² The preamble to the resolution adopted in 1813 indicated the feeling of the society: "Whereas, the flourishing condition of the funds will now warrant an increase and the old members who have borne the heat and burden of the day feel such an increase justifiable and proper."

both the New York and Philadelphia societies the treasurer was elected by the board of directors; and those who voted for the person chosen were required to sign his bond. The societies were soon aware that the bond furnished no adequate security. A committee of the Philadelphia society pointed out in 1809 that the only method of securing the funds was to obtain an act of incorporation, which, in their opinion, "would add respectability to the society, as it would then be known both in law and in fact." The committee added that the trade regulations could still be maintained by "inserting an article in the act reserving to the society the power of making laws, and then again making the said by-laws binding by very high fines on the members."¹³ Little concern was expressed, however, on that score. A resolution declaring that it was "expedient to have the Philadelphia society incorporated as soon as possible" was adopted; and on January 17, 1810, the act of incorporation was signed. The society made no attempt after its incorporation to maintain a price list. When in September, 1810, an effort was made to establish a new price list in Philadelphia, it was made by a mass meeting.¹⁴ The New York society, influenced by the same consideration, appointed a committee in July, 1815, six years after its formation, to secure a charter from the legislature. The society had no intention at that time of giving up its trade-regulating functions, but the legislature was unwilling to grant a

¹³ MS. Minutes of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, March 25, 1809.

¹⁴ The following notice appeared in the Philadelphia *Aurora* of Sept. 5, 1810:

TO JOURNEYMEN PRINTERS

The Journeymen Printers of Philadelphia are requested to attend a meeting on Monday next at half past seven o'clock in the evening at Jonathan Carson's in 6th near Chestnut Street on business of importance.

charter unless it contained a specific prohibition of "any interference in respect to the price of labor." The society after some delay determined in 1819 to renounce its trade activities in exchange for a charter.

The widespread revival of interest in labor organization which began about 1830 was shared fully by the printers. From 1830 to 1836, printers' associations were formed in New York, New Orleans, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Richmond, Natchez, Charleston, Harrisburg, Nashville, Mobile, Augusta, Ga., and Columbia, S. C.; from 1836 to 1840, in Boston, Lexington, Ky., St. Louis, Louisville, Vicksburg, Columbus, O., Detroit, Rochester, Frankfort, Ky., Tallahassee, and Jackson, Miss.¹⁵ The larger number of these lived only a short time, and the only existing unions which date their origin from that period are the Baltimore union (Baltimore Typographical Society) and the Richmond union (Richmond Beneficial Society).¹⁶ By 1840 the movement had subsided and it is probable that by that time very few of the associations were left in existence. In New York, Boston, and Philadelphia the only organizations of printers were the beneficiary societies, which had survived from the earlier period. The fall of the associations appears to have been due primarily to much the same cause as that of the early societies. The collapse was even more complete because the beneficiary functions were less developed and did not perpetuate the life of the organizations when the spirit of combination died out. It is significant that the only organizations which have survived from that period,

¹⁵ Our knowledge of these organizations is in most cases derived entirely from the correspondence preserved in the records of the Columbia society.

¹⁶ It is possible also that the Mobile and Nashville unions have had a practically continuous existence since that period.

the Baltimore and Richmond societies, had for a considerable time highly developed beneficiary functions.

Since 1830, however, the movement for organization among the printers has possessed a certain continuity, and no recession of such length as that from 1820 to 1830 has occurred. Even during the ebb from 1840 to 1847, associations were organized in New York (1844), Cincinnati (1846), and Albany (1847). About 1848 the organization of new local unions began to go on more rapidly. Unions were organized at Boston and Indianapolis in 1848, at Pittsburg in 1849, at New York, Philadelphia, Trenton, and San Francisco in 1850, and at New Orleans in 1852. Since 1850 organizations of printers for maintaining the prices of labor have been in continuous existence in practically all the larger American cities.

Even since 1850 the movement for organization has not gone forward steadily, but has sometimes moved rapidly and then again has gone backward. The first check was caused by the Civil War. In 1860 there were thirty-four unions with a membership of 3492, but by 1862 the membership had dropped to 1585. From 1862 to 1872 the membership and the number of unions steadily increased. From 1873 to 1878 the membership fell from 9797 to 4260, and the number of unions decreased from 105 to 60. Beginning with 1878, both the number of unions and the membership steadily increased until 1894, when the typographical unions numbered approximately 300 and the membership aggregated 30,000.¹⁷ A period of decline followed until 1897, when another period of

¹⁷ The number and membership of the local typographical unions cannot be ascertained exactly for 1894, since from 1891 to 1898 the number and membership of the local unions of allied trades included in the International Typographical Union were not separated from those of the local typographical unions. In Appendix 7 the number of local unions and the membership is given by years from 1853 to 1908.

expansion ensued until 1905, when there were 654 local unions with a membership of 45,435. The number of local unions and the membership decreased again in 1906 and 1907.

The periods of recession coincide with times of industrial depression. The depression of 1873-1878, however, caused a much greater falling off than that of 1893-1897. In the former depression the membership was reduced over one-half, while in the latter the recession was about one-tenth. The decline in membership since 1905 has been due to an exceptional cause, the national eight-hour strike. The magnitude of this strike is attested by the fact that it is the only industrial dispute which has ever caused a decrease in the number of members.

CHAPTER II

THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL UNION

The local associations of printers were for many years entirely independent of each other, but almost from the beginning of the nineteenth century they corresponded on matters of mutual interest. Thus in 1802 the Franklin Typographical Society of New York, as has been noted above, proposed to the Philadelphia society that they should act together in securing the imposition of an additional duty on imported books. In 1803 the Baltimore society requested the Philadelphia society to concur in a resolution concerning apprentices.¹ Announcements of a purely friendly character, such as notices of the election of officers, were frequently sent.

The chief occasion for communication and coöperation among the early societies was the formation by one of them of a new price list. At such times the other societies were notified in order to forestall the anticipated efforts of employers to secure workingmen from other cities. If a strike resulted, the other societies were asked to give notice to the journeymen printers in their localities. The earliest communication of this kind of which we have record was sent by the Philadelphia society in 1803. On August 17 of that year, five master printers advertised in the *Aurora and Daily Advertiser* for "sober young men from the country who have been accustomed to press work." The society inserted a counter advertisement,² and ordered letters to be sent to the "different

¹ See below, p. 161 n.

² The two advertisements are here reprinted as they appeared in the *Aurora* for several days after August 19:

societies in the United States, informing them of those steps taken to counteract the proceedings of the employers in this city." On December 24, the president of the Philadelphia society was authorized to write immediately to the presidents of the societies at Boston, Baltimore, and New York, "giving them a statement of the situation of the business and informing them that there are a number of journeymen now unemployed in this city, and requesting them to use their influence in preventing any imposition upon the general interests of the business."

The New York society, on October 21, 1809, instructed its secretary "to transmit a copy of the list of prices to each of the typographical societies in the United States and inform them of our intention of standing out for the wages mentioned therein, in order that their members might not be deceived by advertisements for journeymen."² The employers in New York persisted in their

TO PRINTERS

Sober young men from the country who have been accustomed to press work will certainly meet with employment at the highest prices on application to

(Signed by Robert Carr and four others).

TO PRINTERS

We the undersigned, Directors of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, assure all "sober young men" now in the country who may have been accustomed to "Press Work" that workmen of that description may easily be obtained *here*, by those offices where situations are eligible and the employment permanent, and we do not hesitate to declare that the advertisements which frequently appear inviting them to town are *often delusive*; and, we are sorry to add, sometimes cause the undutiful and thoughtless to stray from their masters.

(Signed by Geo. White, president, and the other directors.)

The editors of the *Baltimore Telegraph* and the *New York Advertiser* are requested to insert the above daily three times and furnish their accounts to William Little, Secretary of the P. T. Society.

² A letter from the secretary of the New York society to the

attempts to secure journeymen from without the city; and on May 26, 1810, the society ordered its secretary "to inform the different typographical societies in the United States that this board have reason to believe that it is the object of the master printers in this city, by advertising for a great number of workmen, to fill the city with hands and thereby be enabled to reduce the prices of work in this city to their former standard."

The societies notified appear in every case to have interested themselves, and to have used every effort to prevent the employers from securing workmen. The action of the New York society in 1810 illustrates the methods employed. On September 22, a letter was read to the board of directors from the journeymen printers of Philadelphia, who were "standing out" for a new price list. A special meeting of the society was called, the action of the "typographical brethren of Philadelphia" was approved, and the members were urged to make every exertion to prevent their defeat through the importation of printers from New York.

Another form of coöperation among the societies, discussed and initiated but not largely employed, was the exchange of the names of offending journeymen. On December 10, 1808, the directors of the Philadelphia society determined that, if a member should be expelled for teaching the trade to a person over the age of eighteen, notice of his expulsion should be "communicated to the different typographical associations in the United States." On August 19, 1809, the board of directors of the New York society, preparing for the enforcement of a price list, directed their secretary to open a "correspondence with the different typographical societies in

Philadelphia society written somewhat later in the strike is printed as Appendix 2.

the United States and request them in cases where persons may have acted dishonorably towards their societies and might be about departing for this city that they would transmit information thereof to us, the favor of which would be reciprocated." In communicating this proposal, the secretary argued that the fidelity of the members would be better assured if it were known that persons who acted dishonorably would be reported to the societies in other cities. The Philadelphia society agreed to the plan, and promised to forward the names of any of its members who should "act derogatory to the principles of the institution" and leave for New York;⁴ but the president of the society in communicating this action expressed his strong personal dissent. The replies of the other societies, if any were received, have not been preserved.

The arrangement was not, at the time, considered important. In a letter to the president of the Philadelphia society, dated November 13, 1809, the secretary of the New York society, referring to the proposal, said, "We have to regret that the communication of the 18th should have created so much trouble upon a point evidently of little importance."⁵ The Philadelphia society never transmitted the name of any person. On November 4, 1815, two members of the New York society were expelled and their names were sent to the other typographical societies. The New York society appears to have been reluctant to denounce printers who had opposed the enforcement of its trade rules unless they were members of the society. In December, 1809, a journeyman who was not a member of the society had taken a situation in the office of the *Public Advertiser* at less than the society rate, and the

⁴ MS. Minutes of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, October 28, 1809.

⁵ See Appendix 2.

members who were working in the office proposed to debar him from ever becoming a member. It was also suggested that the secretary of the society should be "empowered to report him to the other typographical societies in order that they might be aware of him and treat him with the contempt which his baseness deserved."⁶ The society agreed readily enough to debar him from membership, but refused to transmit his name.

The most interesting early occasion of this kind was the reporting, in 1816, by the Albany society to the New York society, of the names of five printers who had worked below the established prices in an Albany office. One of these men shortly afterwards came to New York to secure employment. A meeting of the journeymen printers was held, and resolutions in condemnation of his conduct were passed. This mass meeting was evidently managed by the New York society.⁷

A third method of coöperation, destined later to play the largest rôle in the development of closer relations among the local unions—the admission on favorable terms of the members of one society by all the others—was discussed by the early societies, but not adopted. Ordinarily the societies required from all applicants for membership the payment of an initiation fee, and did not admit to full benefits until six months or a year after entrance. In 1816 the New York society appointed a committee to correspond with the other societies "to induce the several societies to come to a general understanding" that the members of a society on removing to another city might be admitted immediately as mem-

⁶MS. Minutes of the New York Typographical Society, Dec. 2, 1809.

⁷*Ibid.*, October 3 and December 7, 1816, and February 22 and March 1, 1817. See below, p. 216.

bers in full standing to the society established there. It was anticipated that the adoption of such an agreement would secure for travelling members not only the stated benefits, in case they fell ill, but assistance in obtaining employment and other fraternal services as well.⁸ The Philadelphia society, to which the matter was broached, was unable to enter into the proposed alliance because under its charter no person was eligible to membership who was not a citizen of Pennsylvania, and no person could receive benefits until he had been a member for six months. Consequently the plan was abandoned.

During the years from 1816 to 1830, the benefit societies of the period issued certificates to their members when they removed to other cities. In 1818, for example, a certificate of membership was issued to a member of the New York society who, on account of ill health, was about to depart for the South. The certificate was intended "to testify among strangers his worth as a citizen and member of the society." Such certificates were not recognized officially, yet they secured for the holder a certain amount of attention from the members of other societies if he was in distress, and were an aid in obtaining work.

In 1824 the Franklin Typographical Society of Boston proposed to the New York society the formation of "a

⁸ MS. Minutes of the New York Typographical Society, February 3 and April 6, 1816. The committee thus described the advantages which would result from the adoption of such an agreement: "The object in view is to afford a mutual benefit to the members composing the different societies and the societies themselves; it will be an inducement to the members of the profession to join the several societies in the places where they may have served their apprenticeship for the purpose of procuring, on their departure for another place, a recommendation to the society there; by which they will be enabled to procure work with greater facility and to secure to themselves friends, who in case of sickness will stretch forth the hand of friendship to aid and comfort them."

more efficient union than at present exists between individual societies in the different towns." Each society was to give relief to the members of other societies, and the sum expended was to be repaid by the association from which the member came. The Franklin society issued at that time a certificate of membership to "every member leaving town in a respectable manner"; and a similar certificate, under the proposed plan, was to be the proof of membership.⁹ The New York society, which had been incorporated in 1819, answered that the terms of their charter forbade their entering into such an agreement.

The numerous associations of printers organized in the thirties renewed and strengthened all three of the forms of inter-society relations described above. Several of the associations made explicit provision in their constitutions for issuing certificates to members leaving the city, and it is probable that all issued them. In some societies the certificates secured the admission of the bearers to full membership immediately. The Baltimore society, for example, provided in its constitution of 1832: "Any person presenting a certificate of membership from another typographical society shall be entitled to a seat as a member and enjoy all the benefits of this society, if the society from which he comes reciprocates the same privilege."¹⁰ Other societies, especially such as had highly developed beneficiary features and accumulated funds, were less liberal. The associations at this time transmitted the names of unfriendly and unfaithful printers with far less restraint than in the early period. In 1835 the Columbia society denounced to the other societies several men who were working in an "unfair"

⁹ The letter from the secretary of the Franklin society is printed as Appendix 3.

¹⁰ Constitution of the Baltimore Typographical Society, adopted 1832 (Baltimore, 1832), Art. XVIII.

office in that city; and the printers in Philadelphia, whence these men had come, issued a circular depicting them in a woodcut as rats.¹¹

The first suggestion that the local associations should form an organization, in order to secure coöperation more effectually, was made in 1834. During the years 1834-1835, the Columbia society was engaged in a struggle against the establishment in Washington of a training school for printers.¹² As a result the society became widely known to the printers of the country and carried on a large correspondence with the other associations on trade matters. The contact thus stimulated among the local societies probably suggested the idea that their union in a national organization would be helpful.¹³ In March, 1834, the Columbia society appointed a committee to report "the most proper and effectual course to pursue to bring about the establishment of a National Typographical Society." The committee proposed that a correspondence should be opened with the various societies; but the suggestion was not adopted.

In November, 1835, the Franklin Typographical Society of Cincinnati issued a circular to the other societies proposing the formation of a "National Typographical

¹¹ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 327. The term "rat" is used by the union printers as an epithet for printers who work under price or who violate the regulations of the union. The first use of the term in the United States in the society records is in the minutes of the New York society in a letter from the Albany society, dated Nov. 20, 1816. The term was almost certainly brought from England.

¹² See below, pp. 164 *et seq.*

¹³ The idea of national organization was evidently abroad at this time. The National Trades-Union, a union of the local trades-unions or central unions, was formed in 1834. See Commons, "Labor Organization and Labor Politics, 1827-1837," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 21, p. 323. The Philadelphia Journeymen House Carpenters in 1836 issued a call for a national convention of carpenters (*Washingtonian*, October 17, 1836).

Society." This organization was to secure three results: "First, that each society, in its own district, be sustained by all others in the efforts made to secure them employment. Second, that journeymen bringing certificates of membership in any society of good standing receive a preference over all others in the efforts made to procure them employment. Third, that rats pronounced such by one society be considered as such by all societies."¹⁴ A committee of the Columbia society appointed to consider this plan reported that while the societies were already coöperating in the ways indicated, the formation of a national society would add a sense of obligation and result in the better observance of the principles which had been gradually established. The committee particularly commended the statement of the Cincinnati society that "the certificate of membership ought no longer to procure from us a mere assent of the good standing of the holder but should call forth our active friendship for the bearer—our zealous efforts to get him into employment in preference to all others."¹⁵

Acting on these recommendations, the Columbia society issued a call for a national convention to consider the formation of a national union. On November 7, 1836, delegates from the associations at Baltimore, New York, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Washington, and New Orleans assembled in Washington. The convention was in session for a week and framed a constitution for the National Typographical Society. The purposes of the organization were not defined in the constitution, but were set forth clearly in an "Address to the Local Societies"

¹⁴ MS. Minutes of the Columbia Typographical Society, November, 1835.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, December, 1835; *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 368.

issued by the convention.¹⁶ Apart from certain regulations as to apprenticeship,¹⁷ the prominence of which was largely due to recent occurrences at Washington, the proposed coöperation of the societies was to take substantially the same forms which it had assumed for some years: (a) The societies were to sustain each other in their regulations. (b) No member of one society was to work in an office where a printer expelled by any one of the societies was at work. Men pronounced "rats" by one society were to be considered such by all others. (c) Blank cards were to be issued by the officers of the national society to the local societies, and these cards were to be given to members about to leave the jurisdiction of a local society. Any person presenting a card from one society was to be admitted to the trade benefits of any other society, and, if he paid the initiation fee, to the full benefits.

The first session of the National Society was held in New York in September, 1837, and was attended by delegates from the societies at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Cincinnati, Harrisburg, Mobile, and New Orleans. The name of the organization was changed to the National Typographical Association. The only important addition made to the rules was the adoption of a requirement that a member of one society on removing into the jurisdiction of another should "wait on some one connected with the association and show his card."¹⁸ The National Association adjourned to meet in Pittsburg in September, 1838. So far as can be learned, the meeting was not held; and this movement for national

¹⁶ Proceedings of the National Typographical Convention, Washington, 1836.

¹⁷ See below, p. 165.

¹⁸ MS. Minutes of the Columbia Typographical Society, January 6, 1838.

organization died out. Though the National Association thus lived only a brief time, it undoubtedly exerted a considerable influence in spreading and establishing uniform principles of inter-association coöperation.

The genesis of the present national organization can be traced to an editorial advocating the formation of an "American Printers' Union" which appeared in May 1849, in the *Boston Guide*, a small quarto devoted to the interests of the journeymen printers.¹⁹ The union was to be composed of delegates from the local unions. "This Union," said the *Guide*, "should be possessed of the power of granting charters to subordinate unions; to endeavor to promote their formation throughout the country; to act as a council of advice and exercise a general control."²⁰ The idea was favorably received by the then newly organized unions in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; and on November 1, 1850, these unions joined in a call for a convention to be held in New York on December 2 of the same year. At the time appointed, delegates assembled from Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Trenton, and Louisville.

The chief work of the convention was the drawing up of "An address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States", in which the functions of the proposed national organization were described. The framers of the address anticipated that such a union would ultimately serve as an agent in the "destruction of those unnatural relations at

¹⁹ There is reason to believe that the founders of the Order of Faust, a secret organization of journeymen printers which existed in New York in 1843, contemplated the formation of similar associations in other cities and ultimately the organization of a national order. See Slawson, "A Brief History of the National Typographical Union," in *Proceedings of the National Typographical Union*, 1858, pp. 33-40.

²⁰ Slawson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

present subsisting between the interests of the employing and the employed classes", and in the inauguration of the coöperative commonwealth. But the practical proposals for immediate action were substantially the same as those offered by the National Society in 1836. The national proscription of "rats" and the issuing of "travelling certificates" were the vital points in the program offered. Each union was to have the right in time of strike to borrow from sister unions to the amount of one dollar from each member.²¹

The Second National Convention of Journeymen Printers met in Baltimore on September 12, 1851. Representatives from eleven unions were present. A committee was appointed to report a plan of organization "on the basis that the National Union of Printers was to be the supreme legislative head vested with certain executive powers to be exercised during the recess by its officers."²² The constitution drawn up by the committee was approved by the convention. It was to go into effect when it had been ratified by the unions of five states.²³ The requisite number of unions having signified their assent, the Third National Convention of Journeymen Printers met in Cincinnati on May 3, 1852. After some preliminary proceedings, the convention resolved itself into the

²¹ Proceedings of the National Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States, New York, 1850.

²² Proceedings of the Second National Convention of Journeymen Printers, Baltimore, 1851, p. 11.

²³ In the formation of their national organization, the Printers followed with curious precision the proceedings of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. The provision that the constitution should be ratified by the unions of five states was, for example, a rather forced imitation of the similar provision in the Constitution of the United States. There was not at the time any state organization of printers; the unit in the federation was the local union.

First Session of the National Typographical Union.²⁴
The national organization thus formed has continued to the present time.

²⁴ Proceedings of the Third National Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States, Cincinnati, 1852.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL UNION TO THE LOCAL UNIONS

The constitution adopted in 1852 gave the National Union supreme power over the local unions. It was to be "acknowledged, respected, and obeyed by each subordinate union in the country." The local unions assembled "under its warrant", and, as "the ultimate tribunal", it had "power to regulate, fix, and determine the customs and usages in regard to all matters pertaining to the craft." As far as words make a constitution, the sovereignty of the National Union could hardly have been more thoroughly established; but, for many years, it did not exercise any considerable part of the large powers thus nominally entrusted to it.

From 1852 to 1884 the National Union was merely an organ for defining and elaborating the terms of the agreement already tacitly existing among the local unions. By the establishment of definite rules and by the adjudication of disputes, the National Union made the coöperation of the local unions more effective along all three of the lines described in the preceding chapter; but it added no new form of coöperation. For thirty years the one purpose of the National Union was thus to build up among the local unions such a community of feeling as to make it as difficult as possible for employers to secure workmen in time of strike. Each local union was expected to aid in

¹ The local unions are always referred to in the official publications as "subordinate unions." The two terms are used throughout this monograph as synonymous.

restraining all printers, unionists or non-unionists, from violating the scale of any other local union. In time of strike in one city the other local unions were to prevent, to the best of their ability, the importation of workmen from their localities. A printer who had injured the trade interests of one local union and had been denounced was to be regarded by every other union as having injured its interests.

The concentration of attention for so many years on the one aim of controlling the movement of journeymen printers was due to the character of the printing industry. The goods made by some classes of workmen, as for example, the iron-moulders or the shoe workers, have a wide market, and the goods made in one city come into competition with those made in other places. The market for the product of the printer, on the other hand, is almost entirely local. Much of the work is done to order, and, as in the case of all custom work, it is desirable that the office should be near the customer.² In the other great division of the trade, the printing of newspapers, the work must be done ordinarily in the same town in which the newspaper reader lives. The printers in any one city have not been much concerned, therefore, with the competition of printing offices in other cities; but they have always faced the possibility that in any disagreement with employers workmen from other cities might be imported to take their places. A further consequence of the character of the industry was that an increased demand for printed matter in any locality was ordinarily met by bringing in printers. Every meeting of a state legislature, every session of Congress, necessitated a movement of this kind. The amount of this migration is

² The competition among offices in different cities for certain kinds of printing has grown much keener in recent years with improvements in transportation and in the means of communication.

suggested by the number of travelling cards issued by the local unions. In 1859, when the number of members reported was 2181, the unions reported that 278 had been admitted by card. In 1885, when the membership was 16,183, the number admitted during the year by card amounted to 7006.

The rules for the control of the movement of printers, gradually evolved by the annual sessions of delegates from the local unions, were, briefly, as follows: The National Union issued to the local unions certificates of membership known as "cards." Any member in good standing leaving for another city could obtain one of these from his local union. The card entitled the bearer to the "friendship and good offices of all unions under the jurisdiction of the National Typographical Union." Each local union was required to admit to membership, without the payment of an initiation fee, all printers with cards. Every unionist, upon securing work within the jurisdiction of a local union, was bound, under penalty of expulsion, to deposit his card. A printer who came without a card was not to be admitted to membership until he had explained satisfactorily his failure to present one. If any one of the local unions declared a union printer "unfair", it was the duty of the local union of which he was a member to withdraw his card. A printer expelled by one local union was not to be admitted to membership by any other.³

Trade policies were discussed, from time to time, by the National Union, and its conclusions were formulated in "general laws"; but the rules relating to trade ques-

³The effectiveness of the card system in preventing violations of union rules depends chiefly on the power of the unions to exclude non-members from employment. See p. 287. Certain positive advantages accruing from membership, such as fraternal assistance, also aided in making travelling printers reluctant to forfeit their cards.

tions were almost without exception phrased as mere recommendations to the local unions.⁴ In the ten closely printed octavo pages covered by the "general laws" in 1884, practically the only mandatory rules were those concerning the card system. Undoubtedly, the pronouncements of the National Union on trade questions tended to produce a certain amount of uniformity in the policies of the subordinate unions; but how slight that effect was may be judged from the naïve statement of a committee appointed in 1874 to codify the "general laws": "It is a matter of congratulation that in twenty-one years of our National existence, the legislation of this body has been so consistent as to be almost monotonous, and that we have not had occasion to undo at one session all that was done at a previous one; we have rather been enacting over and over the same thing. This arises, no doubt, from the fact that every session of this body is composed almost entirely of new men, who have not the entire proceedings before them, and, in fact, have never had an opportunity to read them."⁵

Even the card system was loosely enforced. If a local union disobeyed a National rule, the only penalty provided was expulsion.⁶ The Union was reluctant to deal harshly with its constituent local unions, and contented itself with admonition. On several occasions, the National Union refused to adopt rules which provided for imposing fines on local unions. The card system was

⁴ Proceedings of the National Typographical Union, 1864, p. 94. The Proceedings of the National Union are, for brevity, referred to hereafter as Proceedings.

⁵ Proceedings, 1874, p. 37.

⁶ Art. X, Sec. 1 of the constitution for many years read as follows: "General laws for the government of the craft throughout the jurisdiction of this National Union may be enacted and enforced by this body; and any union within its jurisdiction refusing to abide by its laws and decisions shall be expelled."

maintained by the feeling of comity among the local unions and by the fear of retaliation, and not through the exercise of any power invested in the National Union.

Nominally the National Union also had power to decide every question which a subordinate union or any member of a subordinate union might submit; but, for a considerable period, the Union refrained from deciding questions other than those concerning the card system. The appeals were, in fact, not so much questions as to the interpretation of the rules as complaints that they had been violated. If one local union, for example, admitted to membership a printer who had been denounced as a "rat" by another local union, the offended union might appeal to the National Union. The appeals were thus, in effect, indictments for violations of the card system. Occasionally, also, a member of some local union complained to the National Union that he had been unjustly expelled, and thus secured from his local union a rehearing of his case.

Almost from the foundation of the National Union, the extension of its functions in various directions was urged by the more vigorous of its officers.⁷ These proposals took chiefly two directions. The establishment of a national fund for the aid of local unions when on strike was advocated by the more aggressive reformers; and others, more intent upon securing uniformity of trade policies, urged that the National Union should formulate a constitution for the subordinate unions. The "uniform constitution" was to be amended only by the

⁷ The earliest chronicler of the Union, writing in 1858, said: "The Union has generally assumed the position of mild expostulation or recommendation to subordinates rather than that of dictation. Indeed, many good union men have complained that the parent body was too indulgent a parent and not sufficiently positive in legislation" (Slawson, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

National Union, and the local unions were to make only such by-laws as did not conflict with its provisions. The National Union might thus write any provision it saw fit directly into the constitutions of the local unions. It was hoped that the local unions would observe the provisions of their constitutions better than they had observed the "general laws" of the National Union.⁸ The project of establishing a national fund was discussed at the organization of the National Typographical Society in 1836; and in 1853 the National Union gave some consideration to plans for raising such a fund; but no satisfactory conclusion was reached.

The proposal to adopt a "uniform constitution" for the local unions accorded better with the existing activities of the National Union, and was urged more persistently. At the first session of the National Union, a committee was instructed to draft a constitution for subordinate unions, but reported that it was unable to agree. The subject was brought up in 1853, and again in 1855. From 1858 almost every session considered a new plan for bringing the constitutions of the local unions into closer accord.⁹ In 1864 the National Union finally framed a constitution for local unions; but the next session of the Union condemned any interference with local autonomy as "wrong in principle and inexpedient in practice."¹⁰

Until the close of the Civil War the discussion of both plans had been desultory. The rapid increase in membership at that time inclined the Union to consider improve-

⁸ The National Typographical Society had proposed, in 1836, the same method of securing uniform action by the local societies. The twenty regulations of the National Society were to be adopted by the local societies and were thus to become "binding upon the whole, as general laws, for the government of the Craft" (Proceedings of the National Typographical Convention, Washington, 1836).

⁹ Proceedings, 1858, pp. 4, 27; *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 21; *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 42.

ments in its organization. In 1866 the National Union instructed its president to ascertain the views of the subordinate unions as to the desirability of establishing a national fund.¹¹ President Oberly was keenly interested in increasing the activities of the Union. In a vigorous address to the session of 1867, he pointed out the weakness of the national organization and asserted that the only business of importance transacted by the Union was the decision of appeals. The card system was in his opinion the only legislation of the National Union which had "had a tendency to bind together union printers with the bonds of fraternal communion and friendly alliance." He bluntly declared that the expense of the annual session was out of all proportion to the good accomplished by it, and that the union printers "paid too dear for the whistle." The essential elements in the plan of reorganization which he presented were a "national fund law" and a "uniform constitution" for subordinate unions.¹² Both measures were approved by an overwhelming majority despite the formally filed protests by the Philadelphia and Cincinnati unions against the adoption of the "fund law." It was provided, however, that the new rules should be submitted for ratification to the local unions. Unions not reporting their votes by December 1, 1867, were to be counted as voting in the affirmative.¹³

Immediately upon the adjournment of the National Union a storm of disapproval broke out. The center of the opposition was the *Printers' Circular*, a privately-owned journal published at Philadelphia, which had been for several years the official organ of the National Union. Before the meeting of the Union, the *Circular* had favored the proposed reorganization. It had declared with the

¹¹ Proceedings, 1866, pp. 17, 22, 43.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1867, pp. 7-10.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1867, pp. 62-67.

emphasis of italics that the Union was merely a "recommendatory body with no very clearly defined powers"; and it echoed with satisfaction President Oberly's remark that the Printers had "good and sufficient reason to be ashamed of their constitution."¹⁴ But the editor of the *Circular* objected strongly to the unconstitutional manner in which the new measures had been adopted.¹⁵ The real strength of the opposition to the new measures lay in the lack of any strong desire for the establishment of a central strike fund. The printing industry was so essentially a local industry, and the conditions in different places varied so widely, that the printers of one town had little direct interest in assisting the printers of other places. The older and more powerful unions, feeling themselves able to finance their own strikes, were unwilling to contribute to a fund which they feared would be used chiefly to support the smaller and weaker unions.

The Cincinnati union took the lead in opposition. In a circular letter, issued to the other local unions, it declared the adoption of the new constitution "null and void."¹⁶ The New Orleans and Philadelphia unions also protested strongly. New York and Chicago alone of the larger unions were steady in their advocacy of a national fund. Altogether, 35 unions voted against the plan of reorganization. Since there were 105 unions holding charters, the proposals were technically carried. As a matter of fact,

¹⁴ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 2, p. 193.

¹⁵ The constitution of the National Union provided that an amendment could not be offered and adopted at the same session it was offered, but must lie over for one year. President Oberly ingeniously maintained that the National Union had not altered or amended the old constitution but had substituted an entirely new constitution for the old one, and that, therefore, the provision governing amendments did not apply to the case in hand (*Printers' Circular*, Vol. 2, pp. 247-249).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 265.

only some 70 locals were paying dues, and, since many of these did not vote, the local unions voting against the measures outnumbered those in favor of them. President Oberly decided that, on account of the bitter opposition shown, he would not proclaim the new constitution.

The only effect of the movement for increasing the functions of the National Union was the revision of the constitution in 1869. This revision resulted in considerable alterations in unessential matters, but left almost untouched the relations between the National and the local unions. The only considerable expansion made in the functions of the National Union was an increase in its judicial activities. The president was given authority to decide "all doubtful questions that may arise in subordinate unions and all questions about the jurisdiction of the International Union, and generally all questions that have not been clearly defined in the constitution and by-laws." These decisions were to stand until reversed by the Union.¹⁷ From 1874 the president's decisions were annually submitted to the Union, and those approved became "general laws." In that year the number of "laws" was increased at a single stroke from fourteen to thirty-one by the addition of presidential decisions. At each succeeding session new decisions were added. A statement of the increase in the number of "laws" exaggerates, however, the development of the influence of the Union. Many of the new rules were mere interpretations of old ones, and the others were of minor importance. Yet the extension of the judicial activities of the Union had some effect in establishing a standard of usage for the subordinate unions.

The movement for increasing the powers of the Union subsided gradually until 1871, when the session, weary

¹⁷ Proceedings, 1869, p. 43.

of the discussion, voted that "in the opinion of the Union the establishment of a national fund is inexpedient."¹⁸ In 1875 Mr. McVicar brought forward a new plan for a national fund, and in 1878 this project was approved by the Union. As the local unions almost without exception refused to pay their assessments, however, the rule was repealed.¹⁹ The plan for a uniform constitution for subordinate unions was resuscitated from time to time, but after 1868 was never advocated with any considerable energy.

About 1880 the feeling became widespread among the Printers that the International Typographical Union, as the National Union had been renamed in 1869, was not as effective as the national organizations of some other important trade unions. In the severe depression from 1873 to 1878 the local typographical unions had lost the larger part of their members, and were for the time being almost powerless. During this trying period the Printers had come to believe that the system of local autonomy was largely responsible for the heavy disasters which had befallen them. The feeling was general that the local unions should be united more closely, and that this increased coöperation should be brought about by increasing the functions of the International Union; but there were wide differences of opinion as to what functions should be so entrusted. Some advocates of reorganization laid stress on the desirability of providing a system of insurance as a means of increasing the membership; others believed that the International should force the local unions to be more liberal in admitting offending printers to membership. A few advocated the establishment of a national strike fund.²⁰ A committee appointed in 1882

¹⁸ Proceedings, 1871, p. 64.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 71 *et seq.*; *Ibid.*, 1879, pp. 11, 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 36, 76, 77, 90 *et seq.*

to report a plan for reorganization was divided in opinion. The minority urged the institution of International beneficiary features. The majority was in favor of the time-honored panacea, a thorough overhauling of the constitution. The Union spent a session in rearranging the high-sounding words of that document, but voted down with alacrity a proposal to levy a tax on the subordinate unions when one of them should be involved in a strike.²¹

The desire for increasing the effectiveness of the International Union grew steadily. The rapid increase in membership and the spirit infused at this time into the trade-union movement by the Knights of Labor were prime factors in promoting this sentiment. The appointment in 1884 of a chief organizer was the first assumption by the International Union of an administrative function other than those directly connected with the maintenance of the annual sessions of the delegates. In 1885 a tentative plan for the establishment of a national strike fund was agreed upon. These measures marked the end of the period of local autonomy.

Since 1884 the International has steadily increased its activities. This development has taken chiefly five directions: (1) The support of strikes, and as a consequence, the supervision and control of the bargaining of local unions with employers have been entrusted in increasing degree to the International. (2) To some extent the International bargains directly with national associations of employers. (3) The diverse trade regulations of the local unions have been superseded to a considerable extent by International rules. (4) The International Union organizes new local unions and, to some extent, aids the local unions in bringing non-unionists into membership. (5) The International has gradually developed important

²¹ Proceedings, 1882, pp. 12, 39, 105-113.

beneficiary activities. The gradual emergence of International control in each of these directions is traced in detail in succeeding chapters.

The increase since 1884 in the functions and power of the International has not been due chiefly to an increase in competition between the offices in different cities. Inter-city competition, though greater in many kinds of printing than formerly, is as yet slight in comparison with the total amount of work done. The increasing centralization of power is due chiefly to the gradual realization that many functions can be better discharged by a central organization than by the local unions. The movement has been greatly hastened, also, by changes in technique,—notably by the introduction of typesetting and typesetting machines. Confronted by such changes, the Printers have recognized the desirability of adopting a common policy to be pursued by all local unions.

But with all the advance toward centralized government, the local unions are still far more than mere administrative units. As will be seen in the following chapters, the local unions still determine in many particulars the policies they will pursue. Almost every local union differs on some point of policy from its neighboring unions. On many points the International Union still explicitly leaves decision to the subordinate unions. There are other questions which are not covered by the International rules; and here the local union has a free hand. The wide dispersion of the industry and the consequent great differences in conditions make an absolutely uniform policy impracticable.

CHAPTER IV

JURISDICTION

The primary aim in the formation of a trade union is to obtain unity of action among the workmen in that trade. For the attainment of effective unity it is indispensable that within a given territory there shall be but one union. Each local or national union must, therefore, have an exclusive right, as against any other union, to organize and govern the workmen of its trade within a clearly defined territory. The exclusive right of control over a particular class of workers within a particular territory is known among American trade unionists as the "jurisdiction" of the union.

The Jurisdiction of the Local Union.—No great difficulty has been experienced in defining the classes of workmen over which each local typographical union has jurisdiction.¹ The general policy of the union has been to require that all the union printers in each locality should belong to the same local union.² To this rule there have been two exceptions. From 1869 to 1873 women printers were allowed to form separate local unions,³ and since 1869 printers in foreign languages have been permitted the same privilege. In the latter

¹ See, however, p. 250 for an account of the struggle for jurisdiction over the machine tenders.

² The International Typographical Union, at one time or another, has had under its jurisdiction,—in addition to the printers,—pressmen, stereotypers and electrotypers, bookbinders, mailers, type foundrymen, photo-engravers, and newspaper reporters. These have been formed into separate local unions.

³ See below, pp. 313-315.

year a union of printers in French was organized at Montreal. In 1893 the Germania Typographia, a national union of printers in German, amalgamated with the Typographical Union, and the subordinate unions of the Typographia became subordinate unions of the Typographical Union.⁴ Local unions of printers in other languages have been organized from time to time. In May, 1908, the German-American local unions numbered 22. In New York, there are separate unions for Hebrew, Bohemian, Italian, and Slavonic printers; and in Chicago, for Bohemian, Norwegian, Polish, and Swedish printers.

Two reasons have influenced the International Union in granting separate charters to unions of printers in foreign languages. In the first place, many such printers do not understand English well enough to take part in the meetings of the English unions. Secondly, the same scale cannot be maintained in the foreign-language offices. The policy of chartering separate unions for printers of a foreign language has, however, been regarded as desirable only where such printers are numerous. Where there are only a small number of such printers, they are required to join the English union. Thus in Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, and San Francisco, the only unions of foreign printers are the German-American unions.

The union has been unwilling to recognize by the creation of separate unions subdivisions in the printer's craft. The typical subordinate union is made up of hand compositors, machine operators, machine tenders, and proof readers. Agitation for separate unions for some of these classes has arisen at different times. The employing book and job printers complain that the newspaper print-

⁴ The Typographia was allowed by the treaty of amalgamation to maintain, for certain defined purposes, its existence as a national union within the Typographical Union.

ers control the unions in the larger cities and have asked, on several occasions, that the book and job printers be organized into separate unions. The International Union has steadily resisted such efforts. The maintenance of a common apprenticeship for all classes of printers has been the chief support of this policy. When the linotype was first introduced it was proposed that the machine compositors should be organized separately, but the central point in the union's policy with reference to the machines—the requirement of an apprenticeship at hand composition for machine operators—forbade the segregation of the machine operators.⁵

A much more difficult problem has been presented by the necessity of defining the extent of territory over which each local union shall exercise jurisdiction. In at least one of the early societies it was for a time, indeed, a question whether the jurisdiction of the union was personal or territorial. On April 21, 1810, the board of directors of the New York society declared, in a series of resolutions, that the "jurisdiction of the society" extended only to the city and county of New York. Any member of the society employed outside this territory was not required to obey the "regulations of work." The considerations which led to this decision have been controlling with the local unions organized since that time. No useful purpose could be subserved by requiring a member to obey in every place rules framed with reference to local conditions. Moreover, a union cannot ascertain with any certainty whether a member at work in some other locality obeys its rules.

One of the purposes in the formation of the National Union was to force a member of one local union who

⁵ See Barnett, "Introduction of the Linotype," in *Yale Review*, November, 1904.

secured employment within the jurisdiction of another to obey the rules of the local union within whose jurisdiction he was employed. A rule adopted shortly after the organization of the National Union provided that any member taking a card should be required to "deposit it with the proper officer immediately upon his obtaining employment within the jurisdiction of any union subordinate to the National Typographical Union." A member who neglected to deposit his card was required to pay an initiation fee upon readmission into any subordinate union. If he violated the rules of the local union within whose jurisdiction he was working, he might be expelled, even though he had not deposited his card, and in that case the union which had issued the card must revoke it.

The territorial jurisdiction of the local union was for a long time only roughly defined, and, as cities multiplied, this gave rise to difficulties. Local unions objected to the establishment of new local unions in near-by towns, on the ground that the new unions, usually weaker than the old ones, would fix a lower rate of wages and thus prevent the older ones from maintaining their scales. Thus in 1860, the application of certain Brooklyn printers for a charter was refused⁶ on account of the objection of the New York union. The local unions desirous of controlling the chartering of new unions in their vicinity secured in 1871 the enactment of a rule by the International Union which gave each subordinate union jurisdiction "half way between its own location and that of a sister union."⁷

There were two grave objections to this rule. In the

⁶The National Union held that before a charter should be issued it must be clearly understood that printers who worked in New York and lived in Brooklyn must belong to the New York union (*Proceedings*, 1860, pp. 14, 52, 57).

⁷*Proceedings*, 1871, pp. 36, 38.

first place, it gave an existing local union the absolute power of determining whether a new union might be established, and this power was sometimes exercised in a selfish manner. The rule also made it possible for a local union to insist that unionists who were working in surrounding territory should obey its trade regulations. Not many unions actually attempted thus to widen their jurisdictions, but irritating cases of that kind sometimes occurred. It was obviously useless and inexpedient for a city union to enforce its working rules upon printers in small towns, perhaps many miles distant.⁸

Since 1876 the jurisdiction of the local union has been expressly restricted "to the corporate limits of the city or town named in its charter." But, in certain exceptional cases, provision has been made by the International for the extension of the jurisdiction of particular unions over contiguous territory. Thus in 1886, the Meadville (Pa.) union was given jurisdiction over all of Crawford County. The president of the International since 1887 has had power to extend, upon petition, the jurisdiction of the subordinate unions over adjoining towns where no local unions exist.⁹ Such extensions have been made only when the offices in the annexed territory compete actively with those in the territory under the original jurisdiction of the local union.

In the same way, where an incorporated town is so close to a larger city that the printing offices in the two cities compete for work, the International has frequently refused to grant a charter in the smaller city. A case of this kind recently came before the Union. The W. B. Conkey Company of Chicago removed its plant to a nearby town, and the Chicago union, thereupon, secured from

⁸ Proceedings, 1876, pp. 22, 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 67.

the International an extension of jurisdiction over that place.¹⁰ In 1903 the Conkey Company asked for the establishment of a separate union, and agreed, if a charter was granted, to pay a minimum wage of \$18 per week. The Chicago union insisted that the establishment of a union so near, with a lower scale, would threaten the maintenance of their scale; and the charter was refused. Acting on the same principle, the International has decided that "where a city is absorbed in the corporation of another, and where a union exists in both, the smaller union shall be merged in the larger." The first case in which a question of this kind came before the Union was in 1891, when the Town of Lake was annexed to Chicago.¹¹ The rule then adopted has remained in force.

Jurisdiction of the International Union.—The International Union endeavors to enforce its rules upon union printers only when they are working under the jurisdiction of some local union.¹² At any given time, therefore, the territory within which the International actually exercises jurisdiction is the aggregate territorial jurisdiction of the local unions, but it also claims a potential jurisdiction over a much greater territory. The territorial jurisdiction of the International, in this latter sense, is the extent of territory within which it claims the exclu-

¹⁰ Proceedings, 1900, p. 51.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1891, pp. 109, 175.

¹² The same principle is applied in the collection of dues. A member not working under the jurisdiction of any subordinate union has a right to demand a withdrawal card. This card severs his connection with the International Union until he again secures employment within the jurisdiction of a subordinate union. The International has only one rule binding upon a union printer when not within the jurisdiction of some local union, viz., that he shall not "go to work in a town or city where no union exists, during the progress of a strike, without the consent of the parties engaged in a strike" (General Laws, 1908, Sec. 100).

sive right to charter local unions. If the printers of any city within this territory organize a union unaffiliated with the International, an invasion of its jurisdiction has occurred.

That all local unions should be under the jurisdiction of the International is a principle which has developed only gradually. When the local unions united in a national organization in 1852, they did not resent strongly the existence of unaffiliated unions. The National Union was regarded simply as a voluntary combination of certain local unions, and independent unions were treated with great consideration. The Columbia society and the Richmond society existed as independent organizations for some years after the formation of the National Union. Both of these societies had retained important beneficiary functions, and were reluctant to admit printers from other unions without the payment of initiation fees. After several unsuccessful attempts to secure the adhesion of the Columbia Society, the president of the National Union in 1860 advised that a rival union should be chartered in Washington. The outbreak of the Civil War postponed action, and in 1867 the society voluntarily attached itself to the National Union.¹³ The Richmond society received a charter in 1866.¹⁴

The force which gradually brought the independent societies into the national organization was the card system. By a rule of the National Union no local union was allowed to "receive members on cards issued by any other associations than those chartered by the National Union." Members of independent local unions were not refused admission to unions affiliated with the National Union, but they were required to pay an initiation fee. The Co-

¹³ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 6, p. 332; *Proceedings*, 1860, pp. 12, 15.

¹⁴ *Proceedings*, 1866, p. 16.

lumbia society avoided conflict by allowing printers with cards to work in the offices controlled by the society without requiring them to become members.¹⁵ As the "closed shop" rule was more and more strongly enforced by the local unions, it became important to each local union to secure for its travelling members the privilege of working in union offices in other cities without having to pay initiation fees.

The extent of the territory within which the National Union claimed the exclusive right to establish local unions was not at the outset carefully defined. It was assumed for some years that it was limited to the United States. The preamble to the constitution of the National Typographical Association, adopted in 1836, indicates that the framers did not expect to include in the Association local unions outside of the United States.¹⁶ The convention called in 1850 to consider the formation of a national union styled itself the "National Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States"; and the constitution of the National Union ratified in 1852 declared that the Union possessed "original and exclusive jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to the fellowship of the Craft in the United States."

The National Union had hardly been established, however, when the desirability of making some arrangement for extending the card system to Canadian printers was discussed. At the third annual session, in 1854, the National Union suggested that each local union should arrange with such Canadian unions as it saw fit for a reciprocal exchange of cards. Only a few of the subordinate unions followed this recommendation. In 1856 the

¹⁵ Constitution of the Columbia Society (Washington, 1866), Art. XI.

¹⁶ Proceedings of the National Typographical Convention, Washington, 1836, p. 9.

constitution of the National Union was amended to permit the officers to issue charters in Canada, but none of the Canadian unions applied for admission, and a year later the jurisdiction was again restricted to the United States. The matter was one of small interest except to a few of the Northern and Lake cities. In 1860 the president of the National Union decided that a local union ought not to receive the cards of any local union not affiliated with the National Union, except as an evidence of "honorable standing", and that persons presenting such cards should be charged the regular initiation fee.¹⁷ The National Union approved this decision, and instructed its secretary to "open a correspondence with the Unions in the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, with a view to bringing them under the jurisdiction of this National Union." The secretary could find only one union "possessing any practical vitality," the Toronto Typographical Society, and this organization showed no interest in the proposed alliance.¹⁸

In 1865 the National Union definitely extended its jurisdiction to include the British Provinces, and the corresponding secretary was instructed "to inform the Printers' Societies or Unions in the British Possessions that the National Typographical Union of the United States extended to them the same privileges now extended to subordinate unions in the United States."¹⁹ The Toronto society, one of the oldest in North America, after much deliberation and with some misgiving, applied for and received a charter from the National Union. A union was organized the same year at St. John, N. B. The extension of jurisdiction over the British Provinces was signalized in 1869 by a change of the name of the union

¹⁷ Proceedings, 1860, p. 29.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 51.

from "National Typographical Union" to "International Typographical Union of North America."

For twenty years thereafter, the jurisdiction of the International was confined to the "United States and the British Provinces." In 1888, when the constitution was again revised, the jurisdiction was extended to include all of North America. Local unions have been organized at various times in Jamaica, Porto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippines. The greater part of these unions have been short-lived. The following table shows the number of unions located in the various parts of the jurisdiction in May, 1907, and their membership:

<i>No. of Unions. Membership.</i>		
Canada	30	2,591
Hawaiian Islands	1	15
Philippine Islands	1	15
United States	630	42,359

The International Union has shown no capacity for organizing the printers in any part of North America except the United States and Canada. Mexico, Cuba, and Porto Rico are entirely unorganized. The number of printers in these countries is not large, and practically all of them are printers in Spanish. The local unions in the Philippines and in the Hawaiian Islands are composed of printers who have emigrated from the United States.

The Typographical Union has never had any serious difficulty on account of sectional secessions. The most considerable division was caused by the Civil War. In April, 1861, the Charleston union proposed to the unions in the South that they form a Southern Typographical Union. This plan, apparently, was never carried out. In July, 1861, the Atlanta union dissolved its connection with the National Typographical Union. The great majority of the Southern unions followed this example, in many cases adopting elaborate secession ordinances. The

attitude of the National Union throughout was conciliatory. It instructed its president in 1861 to issue a circular letter to the Southern unions and to urge "upon them to maintain their former relations."²⁰ In 1864 it authorized its president to use all proper means to "bring about the resuscitation of all the Southern unions and their renewed affiliation with this body (without regard to former troubles) on the most liberal terms which in his judgment shall be deemed expedient." In 1866 practically all the Southern unions resumed their allegiance to the National Union; and its president was able to say, "*our* reconstruction is complete."

The jurisdiction of the Typographical Union over Canada has recently been disputed, partly as a result of the nationalist movement among a section of the Canadian trade unionists. In 1902 the National Trades and Labour Congress of Canada was organized for the purpose of promoting the formation of national Canadian unions. The Congress has encouraged the secession of local unions from the international unions exercising jurisdiction over both the United States and Canada. The promoters of this movement have appealed to the national pride of Canadians, but as yet with only slight success. The great majority of Canadian local unions maintain their affiliation with the international unions already existing.

Considerable dissatisfaction among the printers in the Canadian Government Printing Office at Ottawa was caused by the heavy assessment levied by the International Union in 1905-1906 for the financing of the eight-hour strike, and in September, 1906, the Ottawa Typographical Union by a vote of sixty to thirty-three resolved to secede from the International Typographical Union

²⁰ Proceedings, 1861, p. 18.

and to ally itself with the nationalist movement. The thirty-three "loyalist" members retained their International charter; and since that time there have been two typographical unions in Ottawa. The International Union sent a commission to Ottawa in October, 1906, but the differences between the two unions were irreconcilable. The "loyalists" charge the nationalists with being unwilling to pay their assessments, while the seceders are strong advocates of national autonomy. The nationalist movement has not caused as yet the secession of any other typographical union, although efforts have been made to establish unions in other Canadian cities.²¹ The opponents of nationalism point out that a "Canadian National Typographical Union" would have a membership of less than three thousand, and would be too small to support, except at excessive cost, the necessary executive staff.

During the history of the Typographical Union only one union has disputed its jurisdiction in its entirety, claiming the right to organize unions of printers in the United States and Canada. In 1884 a number of non-union printers working in Kansas City formed a local organization known as the Printers' Protective Association. A year later a second association was organized in Topeka, Kan. The local associations formed the International Printers' Protective Fraternity at Kansas City, on March 15, 1886. In June of that year the chief organizer of the Typographical Union referred to the Fraternity as a "so-called organization of rats"; and said, "It is composed of creatures who have been driven by public opinion from other localities, and like all outcasts they herded together."²²

The Fraternity spread rapidly to a considerable num-

²¹ Proceedings, 1907, pp. 102-105; *Labour Gazette*, October, 1907, p. 432.

²² Proceedings, 1886, p. 61.

ber of cities. In 1888 it had branches at New Haven and Cleveland, and in 1891 an organizer of the Typographical Union reported that although the Fraternity had been driven out of Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Rome, Ga., it still had local fraternities in Little Rock, New Orleans, Jacksonville, Montgomery, Nashville, and Charleston. The Fraternity appears to have reached its greatest extent in 1891. Three local branches had by that time been established in California. The session of the Typographical Union in 1892 heard complaints of the activity of the Fraternity from Kansas City and Los Angeles.²³ Since 1897 the Fraternity has not shown vitality. Its operations are confined chiefly to the Pacific Coast and its strongest branch is at Los Angeles.²⁴ The officers of the Typographical Union have always been fully sensible of the danger from a competing union. In 1896 President Prescott said: "During the term, your Executive Council has been generous to the point of liberality in supporting the efforts of financially weak unions to dislodge organized renegades who may have infected their respective jurisdictions. While the progress made is hardly appreciable, the pariahs were prevented from making further depredations; and, if we continue harassing this contemptible and traitorous enemy, the dissipation of the commercial depression will witness the demise of the foul combination with its unholy aims and objects."

The hatred between the Typographical Union and the Fraternity, as is evinced by the tone of the passages quoted above, has always been intense. The officers of the Fraternity have shown themselves willing to organize bands of workmen to take the situations of union printers. Newspaper proprietors in difficulty with the

²³ Proceedings, 1892, pp. 74, 156.

²⁴ See *World's Work*, Vol. 15, pp. 9675-9.

unions have frequently brought in from other places Fraternity printers to man their papers. The union printers claim that the Fraternity is in reality merely a strike-breaking organization, and that its officers receive large sums from employers for securing for them at critical times considerable bodies of workmen. The purpose in maintaining an organization, according to the unionists, is to make it possible for the employer, if he is boycotted, to assert that he is employing unionists, and that the difficulty is one between two unions. The Fraternity, on its side, declares that the methods of the Typographical Union are vicious. Strikes, lockouts, and boycotts are denounced by its constitution, and arbitration is declared to be the "best mode of settlement for both capital and labor."²⁵ According to its official journal, "the Fraternity does not fix an arbitrary scale of wages at which its members shall work," nor does it "seek to lay down a cast-iron rule regulating the hours of work."²⁶

²⁵ Constitution of the International Printers' Protective Fraternity, 1900; Constitution and by-laws of the Los Angeles Printers' Protective Fraternity. It is impossible to describe the actual working of the Fraternity since the only available sources of information are constitutions and copies of a publication known as "*The Fraternity*,"

²⁶ *The Fraternity*, January, 1899, p. 28.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT

The Government of the Local Union.—The earliest extant constitution of an American printers' society outlines a form of government markedly different from that of the present local typographical unions.¹ In the Philadelphia society of 1802, a general meeting in which all members in good standing had a voice was held monthly. The general meeting was held "for the purpose of electing officers, hearing the reports of the board of directors, and making monthly payments." The really important work of the society was done by a board of directors consisting of sixteen members, part of whom were elected each month by the general meeting. The "directorship" met weekly; it admitted and expelled members, paid benefits, and adopted regulations of work. The general meeting heard what had been done, but could not reverse any act of the board. In the New York society's constitution of 1809, also, provision was made for a board of directors elected in the same manner and holding weekly meetings; but the powers of the directors were not nearly so large. Candidates for membership were not elected by the directors, but only recommended by them to the general meeting. Working regulations were

¹A manuscript copy of the original constitution of the Philadelphia society is preserved in the archives of that society. It has been printed by Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 942. The constitution of the New York society of 1809 was probably modelled on the Philadelphia constitution of 1802. No copy of the New York society's constitution is known to be in existence, but certain sections of it which appear in the minutes of the society are identical in wording with sections of the Philadelphia constitution.

adopted by the general meeting. In short, the board of directors was merely an agency by which the general meeting exercised a supervision over affairs in the intervals between meetings.

Although traces of the system of government by a small elected council, such as the boards of directors of the early societies, are found in the constitutions of some of the later societies, the government of the local union had come by about 1840 to be very much the same as it is now. A meeting of the union to which every member is admitted and in which he has a vote is held at intervals, usually monthly; and all questions—legislative, executive, and judicial—are there passed upon. The meeting enacts rules for the government of the union, adopts regulations, tries accused members, and decides when a strike is advisable. In any important business, a committee is appointed which investigates the matter and reports to the union; but the final decision in all affairs rests with the monthly meeting. No system of representative government is found in any of the local unions.

In many American trade unions the local unions are divided when they reach a considerable size. Thus the Carpenters and Bricklayers in every large city in the United States meet in several local unions. This plan has two advantages. The chances of ill-advised legislation are lessened by the reduction in the size of the general meeting. More important still, since the local unions of the trade in each city must act in concert on trade questions, the decision on all important matters is necessarily transferred to a "district committee." The Typographical Union, as has been noted in the preceding chapter, has preferred to include in a single union all the printers who work in the same city. One unfavorable result of this policy is that in the larger cities the number of mem-

bers is so great that the efficiency of the general meeting as an organ of government is greatly impaired. The New York union has a membership of nearly 7000; the Chicago union of 3500; in all, half a dozen local unions have each more than 1000 members. In such unions the monthly meeting is likely, on occasions, to degenerate into a turbulent mob. It is obviously impossible for the seven thousand members of the New York union to pass in general meeting carefully and wisely upon affairs of importance.

The larger local unions have sought in two ways to lessen the dangers involved in their form of government. In the first place, the practice has become common of submitting all important issues to a shop vote, and the officers are also usually elected in the same manner. Secondly, elaborate rules for restraining the general meeting from hasty action have also been incorporated in the constitutions of nearly all the larger unions. Thus, in New York, the scale of wages cannot be altered except after notice has been given at one regular meeting and a report has been received at the next. Even then, a three-fourths vote is required. A four-fifths vote is required to make an appropriation not specifically provided for in the constitution.

With all its defects, the general meeting retains its place, chiefly because it is the only practicable organ of public opinion. In the government of a city or state the discussion of measures is carried on by newspapers and in political meetings. The members of the local union, on account of the fewness of their numbers in any particular locality, cannot have such means of canvassing a proposed measure. The monthly meeting of the union supplies this need. There the matter in hand is debated. The members learn to applaud certain speakers, and se-

lect their officers on the basis of impressions formed at these meetings.

The duties of the officers are directly connected with the monthly meeting. The important officials are a president, a secretary, and a treasurer, who are usually elected annually. The president, except in the larger unions, is an unsalaried officer. The secretary and the treasurer receive small salaries, rarely exceeding \$100 a year. In some of the large unions, however, the offices of secretary and treasurer have been combined, and the secretary-treasurer is paid a sum sufficient to enable him to devote his entire time to the work of the union. The largest unions, such as those in New York and Chicago, employ several officials. These are engaged for the most part in the secretarial and financial work of the union; but occasionally a local union employs an official whose business it is to induce unaffiliated printers to join.

The Government of the International Union.—The committee which drew up in 1851 the constitution of the National Typographical Union, borrowed, almost without change except for unimportant omissions, the constitution of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the United States of America. No mention of the fact was made in the report of the committee, but a comparison of the two constitutions reveals such a striking similarity that the connection between them can be clearly established.² The seventeen articles of the Odd Fellows' constitution were condensed into ten, but the changes made were merely verbal.

²The constitution of the Odd Fellows is printed in the Journal of the Proceedings of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (New York, 1844), p. XIV. A more detailed comparison of the constitutions may be found in Hollander and Barnett, "Studies in American Trade Unionism," p. 19.

The distinctive characteristic in the government outlined by this constitution was the predominance given to an annual assembly of representatives known as the National Typographical Union, and corresponding to the Grand Lodge of the Odd Fellows. The National Union had power to elect its officers, to pass "laws in regard to all matters pertaining to the craft", and to decide all judicial questions. Legislative, judicial, and executive powers were thus conferred on a single body. The general plan of the constitution of the Grand Lodge of the Odd Fellows fitted in well with the vague aims of the founders of the Typographical Union. The central organization designed by the Typographical Convention of 1851 was intended merely for regulating the relations of the local unions and for interpreting the customs of the craft. A government by a kind of supreme council consequently answered every purpose. Furthermore, the government of the National Union corresponded closely to the form of government to which the Printers had long been accustomed in their local unions—a meeting in which every member had a vote on all questions, and which exercised directly legislative, judicial, and executive powers.

The members of the National Union were the representatives from the local unions.³ Originally each union—large and small alike—was entitled to send three delegates. In 1869 the basis of representation was altered in

³ It is only in very recent years that the members of the local unions have been referred to in the official literature as members of the International Typographical Union. The National Union was for many years not the name of the central organization regarded as a whole, but merely of the annual assembly of representatives. Since the two significations very largely overlap, the expressions National and International Typographical Union are used in this monograph, where no confusion results, sometimes in one sense and sometimes in the other.

such a way that the delegates allowed the unions ranged from one to four according to the number of their members. This change was sturdily resisted by many representatives who held to the traditional theory that the National Union was a federal council in which all subordinate unions should stand on an equality. Twelve of the delegates in a written protest declared that the change "virtually deprived the smaller unions from representation." The basis of representation has, however, remained unchanged since 1869.

Even since the reduction in their representation, the number of delegates allowed the smaller unions is out of all proportion to their membership. As a matter of practice, however, they are by no means fully represented at the annual sessions. The Union has steadily defeated all proposals looking to the payment of representatives from the International treasury, and the small unions are for the most part unable to pay the expenses of delegates. Partly to enable them to be represented at intervals, the sessions are held in different sections of the country in successive years. With the same design, proposals have been frequently made for systems of district representation. The Union has never tried any thorough-going expedient of this kind, but since 1887 two subordinate unions may join in sending a delegate. The unions have not availed themselves of this plan to any considerable extent, and usually less than one-third of the subordinate unions are represented. At the Washington session held in 1903, for example, only 180 subordinate unions out of 695, or 26 per cent, were represented. The 180 unions represented had, however, 33,486 members, or 72.5 per cent of the total membership.

The officers of the National Union, as constituted during the period from 1851 to 1885, were merely an ad-

junct to the annual session. They consisted at the outset of a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, and a treasurer. In 1854 the offices of recording secretary and treasurer were amalgamated. The officers were elected by the session, and held office for one year. An illustration of the small importance of the officers in the government of the Union is furnished by the changes in the regulations concerning the time at which they assumed office. Originally they "entered upon their duties at the termination of the session at which they were elected." Frequently, however, the next session found itself without some of its officers. Moreover, each session desired to have officers of its own election. By a change made in 1854, officers were elected at the beginning of the session and held office until the beginning of the next session. In order to insure the presence of the secretary-treasurer at the ensuing session, an amendment to the constitution provided that he should be paid his travelling expenses.

In the interval from one session to the next, the officers had few duties to perform. The issuing of charters and cards, the preparation of the convention proceedings for publication, and the collection and disbursement of the small revenue needed for these purposes constituted the duties of the president and the secretary-treasurer during the first period of the Union's history. The salaries of the officers varied from year to year, being fixed at each session. During the early years the salary of the secretary-treasurer was ordinarily \$100. The president was also customarily voted a small sum of money. From 1850 to 1885 only five presidents held office for more than one year, and of these, only one for more than two years. In thirty-five years the Union had

twenty-eight presidents. The tenure of the other officers was equally short.

The constant assumption since 1884 of new functions by the International Union has entailed important modifications in its government. The annual meeting of representatives—the single organ in the original structure—has been partly supplemented and partly replaced by other institutions. The chief innovations have been: (1) the introduction of the referendum and of popular elections, and (2) the enlargement of the power of the officers.

The constitution of the Union originally provided that an amendment offered at one session might not be considered until the next. The purpose of the provision was to secure through the delegates a reference of all questions of importance to the local unions. The early advocates of centralization found this rule an insurmountable obstacle to any radical reform, and in 1876 they succeeded in obtaining a relaxation of the rule so that an amendment to the constitution might be adopted immediately if it received a unanimous vote. Six years later the vote necessary to adopt an amendment immediately was reduced to four-fifths, and when the constitution was thoroughly revised in 1884 the rule was changed so as to require only a two-thirds majority. When, however, the functions of the International began to increase, the session felt the need of some method of ascertaining the popular will on important questions. Having abandoned the reference to the subordinate unions, they now turned to the referendum. In 1887 the abolition of piece work in book and job offices, and in 1888 parts of a new constitution were submitted to a vote of the membership. In 1889 the referendum was made a regular part of the Union's governmental machinery. Provision was then made that all amendments to the constitution, and all

rules involving an increase of taxation should be submitted to a vote of the members of the local unions.⁴

A prime motive in the introduction and extension of the referendum was the desire to further the movement toward centralization. By the use of the referendum, a direct bond was established between members of the local unions and the International Union. The advocates of centralization have, therefore, always been the advocates of the referendum. In 1896 President Prescott gave this view clear expression: "I cannot refrain," he said, "from submitting, as an all-sufficient answer to those who argue that the referendum is inefficient, that though conventions at various periods adopted strike benefit laws, the membership paid no heed whatever until the present law was adopted by popular vote; the same is true of all other International laws: those securing popular approval on a general vote are the ones most easily obeyed and enforced. As practiced with us, representative government—even though the convention's functions are reduced almost to those of a deliberative body—is a farce, many unions being financially unable to support a delegate, and the larger ones being apportioned such a small number of delegates that it is possible for four unions of seven members each to thwart the wishes of our largest subordinate body numbering thousands of members."⁵

During the period from 1890 to 1896, the initiative and the referendum seemed about to supplant the session entirely. In 1893 it was provided that any subordinate union might propose amendments to the constitution or "general laws." These propositions were to be published in the *Typographical Journal*, the official organ of the Union, and if supported by twenty unions, were to be sub-

⁴ Proceedings, 1889, p. 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 13.

mitted to a general vote. Three years later the number of supporting unions required was reduced to five. The officers of the Union were also given power to submit questions of great urgency to a vote of the membership. These changes so reduced the power of the annual meeting that in 1894 the sessions were made biennial. The movement culminated in 1896 when the regular sessions were abolished, and it was provided that a session should be held only when demanded by a popular vote.

The victory of the referendum was only temporary. Almost immediately the defenders of the representative form of government secured the re-submission of the question; and in October, 1897, the membership voted to return to the system of biennial conventions.⁶ The vote was again very close and other propositions looking to a complete restoration of the session to its old position in the government of the Union were overwhelmingly defeated. The members refused to abolish the referendum or to increase the number of unions required to initiate legislation. Since 1897, however, there has been a steady movement in the direction of limiting the use of the referendum and of nominally restoring the session to a considerable place in the governmental machinery. The number of supporting unions required to initiate legislation has been increased to fifty; and in 1898 the membership voted in favor of a return to annual sessions. Moreover, when the "book of laws" was revised in 1901, a large part of the constitution was transformed into "general laws." Since "general laws" which do not involve increased taxation are not necessarily submitted to a vote of the membership, the required use of the referendum was proportionally decreased; and the legislative power of the session was partially restored. While in

⁶ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 12, p. 95, *et seq.*

1894-1898 it was not unusual for a session to submit twenty-five or thirty propositions, in 1903, a typical year, only eight were submitted. Even, however, when not constitutionally bound to do so, the session still submits practically all important rules and projects to a vote of the membership.

The referendum did not arouse the general interest which its advocates had anticipated. In the early years of its introduction, when the propositions submitted were rarely less than twenty, only about one-third of the membership took the trouble to vote. Since the reduction in the number of propositions, a larger part of the members express their opinions through the referendum. In 1903 over 20,000 members, or about half the membership, participated. The increased interest is partly due to greater familiarity with the system, but partly also to the smaller number of issues presented for decision.

The theory that the National Union was a body distinct from the general membership had found expression in the rule that only delegates were eligible to be national officers. As a consequence, if the president or secretary-treasurer failed of reelection as a delegate from his subordinate union, he could not be reelected to his office in the National Union. In 1886 the convention reaffirmed this rule in the case of Secretary McIntosh, who was declared ineligible for reelection on the ground that he was not a delegate.⁷ This restriction, which had rested hitherto upon an interpretation of the general spirit of the constitution, was in 1887 incorporated in the constitution in explicit terms. As the duties of the officers increased, continuity in office became important. The session still refused to give up the exclusive right of its members to the offices, and rejected in 1889 a resolution to make

⁷ Proceedings, 1886, p. 15.

all members of subordinate unions eligible to election as officers in the International Union. It made a concession, however, in 1891, by providing that any officer should be eligible to reelection even though he had not been returned as a delegate.

The exclusiveness of the session could not stand long in the way of the movement toward the centralization of the union. In order to secure the fullest participation of the members of the unions in the government of the International, the advocates of a highly centralized union urged that the control of the offices should be transferred from the convention to the membership at large. The president of the Union, in advocating this change, said: "The most important duty of the delegates is the election of officers, which is rightly a prerogative of the membership, and the only explanation of why an entire convention is debarred from changing a word in the constitution, but a majority of the delegates can elect officers, is that the custom had its birth when the International offices were merely honorary positions. . . . Under this method the election would be freed from the rancor, bitterness, misrepresentation, and tirades which are too frequent adjuncts of our elections now."⁸ The session held in Colorado Springs in 1896 made all members of local unions eligible to the offices of the International Union and gave the right of electing these officers to the membership at large.

The discharge of the functions assumed by the International Union has necessitated an almost constant increase since 1884 in the duties of the officers. The Union at first attempted to meet the new needs by the creation of new offices. In 1882 deputies were appointed by the president, one for each state and territory, whose duty

⁸ Proceedings, 1896, p. 12.

it was to organize local unions; but no provision was made for paying these officials. The president of the Union urged the appointment of a paid official to carry on this work, and in 1884 the session created the office of chief organizer, with a salary of \$1000 and expenses. The growing importance of the administrative work of the Union, due partly to the rapid increase at this time in the membership, but chiefly to the addition of new duties in connection with the organization of new unions and the supervision of the strike fund, led to a radical reorganization of the official staff in 1888. Headquarters were established in Indianapolis, and the president and secretary-treasurer were given salaries sufficient to enable them to devote their entire time to the work of the Union. The office of chief organizer was abolished, and his duties laid upon the president. The system of state deputies was abandoned, the country divided into seven districts, and an organizer elected for each district.

Every increase in the functions of the Union has tended to enhance the importance of the president and the secretary-treasurer. They administer the strike fund and the burial benefit, and supervise the organization of new unions. By the adoption of the rule that all appeals must first be decided by the president, and that appeals from his decision to the session must be printed, the judicial power of the session has practically been transferred to the president. The affairs of the Union have become for the most part so intricate that nearly all important legislation originates with the executive officials. Of nearly two hundred propositions submitted to the session of 1904, for example, only about twenty were adopted. Fifteen of these, the really important proposals, were offered by the executive officers. A few unimportant resolutions of sympathy with striking fellow unionists and

some suggestions as to the management of the Printers' Home constituted the contribution of the delegates. By a rule passed in 1896, a "committee on laws" selected by the president meets in the city where the convention is to be held three days before the Union assembles. The executive council submits to this committee its recommendations, and any local union or any member of a local union in good standing may also submit propositions. This committee is by far the most important of all the committees of the annual session; and its unfavorable action offers a serious check to any proposed measure. By the selection of members for service on this committee, the president is able in nearly all cases to influence materially the action of the session.

The convention, stripped of its power to elect officers, rarely exercising its judicial function, with the initiation of legislation largely taken over by the officers, and with its every important legislative act subject by law or custom to referendum, still remains an organic part of the government of the Union. A belief in the inspiring influence of annual sessions, and a reluctance to part with an historic institution, have been partly responsible for the maintenance of the stated meetings. An additional, and perhaps the strongest, reason for the continuance of the annual session is the desire to maintain some supervision over the work of the executive staff.

In some American unions this duty is performed by a board, compact but large enough to be representative of the various sections of the country and divisions of the trade. When the officers were established at Indianapolis in 1888, elaborate provision was made for such an executive council. The council was to consist of the president, the vice-presidents, the secretary-treasurer, and the seven organizers. This body was to hold stated meet-

ings twice in each year. It was given power to decide all questions between subordinate unions, to administer the strike fund, and to have, in general, "supervision of the business of the International Union, of districts and of subordinate unions." The plan, however, never had a trial. The year after the enactment of this measure the Union was in financial difficulties and, in order to save the expense, the council held no meetings. At the next session of the Union, the president said: "In my opinion, the stated meetings of the council should be dispensed with and the section so amended, but a provision retained for assembling the council, should extraordinary conditions require it. As at present constituted, the council is composed of twelve persons, widely scattered, and as matters are frequently referred to them which should be decided promptly, much time is lost. It may be worth considering whether a smaller council less scattered would not be an improvement."⁹ The council accordingly was reduced in number by removing the organizers from its membership.

Since 1901 the council has been composed of the president, the secretary-treasurer, and the second vice-president. All of these officers are intimately associated at Indianapolis in the conduct of the business of the Union. The executive council is, consequently, only another name for the official staff. As a substitute for a small and representative executive council, the annual session is an archaic and inefficient institution. In session for only a week, fêted on every possible occasion by the entertaining union, with a membership so large as to make deliberation impracticable, the supervision which it can exercise over the work of the officers is necessarily slight.

⁹ Proceedings, 1889, p. 17.

CHAPTER VI

FINANCES

The financial experience of the International Union derives its chief interest from the fact that it illustrates the growing centralization of the union. The increasing expenditure, the changes in the form of taxation, and the reconstruction of financial administration are all directly traceable to the same general cause.

Expenditures.—The increase in expenditures has been the leading element in this development. Considered from this point of view, the financial history of the International may be roughly divided into two periods: the first, from 1852 to 1884, was marked by meager and regular expenditures; the second, the period of political and financial centralization, extending from 1885 to the present, has been characterized by a continuous although irregular increase in expenditures. Until 1885 the total annual expenditure of the International never exceeded \$5000, and during the greater part of the period was rarely more than \$2000. The per capita annual expenditure was never more than 35 cents, and for most of the years ranged from 20 to 25 cents. The objects of expenditure during this period are even more significant than the amounts. Two items, the salaries of officers and the printing of the annual proceedings, aggregated annually from 75 to 90 per cent of the total expenditure. The whole of the small income was thus spent in defraying the expenses connected with the annual meeting of the Union.

During the years 1884-1895, the lines of present expenditure were marked out. The expense of organizing new unions was undertaken in 1884; the defense fund

was established in 1888; the burial benefit was inaugurated in 1891; and the Printers' Home was opened in 1892. The annual per capita expenditure which in 1884 was 27 cents had risen by 1888 to \$1.37, and by 1895 to approximately \$3.00. The total expenditure of the International rose from \$4407.44 in 1884 to \$89,650.72 in 1895, although the membership increased only from 16,000 to 29,000. The growth in expenditures was thus more than twenty fold while the increase in membership was less than 80 per cent. From 1895 to 1908 the International did not assume any new function entailing large expenditures,¹ but the development of the activities already undertaken, as well as a rapid increase in membership since 1898, has necessitated an almost constant increase in the total and, in a smaller degree, in the per capita expenditure. In 1905, a normal year, the per capita annual expenditure was \$4.40 and the total expenditure was upwards of \$200,000.²

The per capita expenditure by the International Union for all purposes for each year from 1885 to 1908 inclusive was as follows:

1885.....	\$0.43	1897.....	\$4.46
1886.....	.44	1898.....	3.96
1887.....	.53	1899.....	4.03
1888.....	1.37	1900.....	5.80
1889.....	1.24	1901.....	3.38
1890.....	1.08	1902.....	3.80
1891.....	2.20	1903.....	4.12
1892.....	3.97	1904.....	5.47
1893.....	3.97	1905.....	4.40
1894.....	3.47	1906.....	21.90
1895.....	2.91	1907.....	39.29
1896.....	3.23	1908.....	19.07

¹ In 1907 the International made provision for the payment of old age pensions. The first payments were not made until August, 1908, and will be included in the statement for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1909.

² The expenditures for 1906-1908 were abnormally large on ac-

These disbursements may be conveniently classified under four heads, corresponding to the divisions actually made in the funds,—(a) for general purposes, (b) for “defensive” purposes, (c) for the burial benefit, and (d) for the Printers’ Home.

(a) The disbursements for administrative and miscellaneous purposes are grouped as general expenditures, and include the salaries of officers, the cost of printing the session proceedings, office expenses, and minor expenses. Until 1887 the general expenditures constituted the entire outlay of the International. Until 1885, when the International undertook the work of organizing new local unions, the annual per capita expenditure for these purposes had been from 20 to 30 cents. It stood at 53 cents in 1887. With the establishment of International headquarters, in 1888, the per capita expenditure for general purposes was increased to nearly 70 cents. Since 1888 the expenditure for general purposes has risen steadily, until in 1908 the per capita outlay was \$1.90. The chief elements in this increased outlay have been: the cost of publishing the *Typographical Journal*, undertaken in 1889;³ an increase in the per capita payments by the International to the American Federation of Labor, and, finally, an increase in office expenses more rapid than the increase in membership.

count of the heavy outlay made necessary by the eight-hour strike. On this account, in making comparisons with previous years, the figures for 1905 have been used.

³Until 1903 subscription to the *Typographical Journal* was voluntary. Since then each member of the union has been taxed 60 cents annually as a subscription. For convenience in comparison, the expenditures on account of the *Journal* have been included for all the years in general expenditures, although in the financial statements of the International since 1903 they have been charged to a special account.

The per capita expenditure for general purposes by years from 1885 to 1908 inclusive has been as follows:

1885.....	\$0.43	1897.....	\$0.93
1886.....	.44	1898.....	.93
1887.....	.53	1899.....	1.10
1888.....	.67	1900.....	.88
1889.....	.58	1901.....	.82
1890.....	.52	1902.....	.98
1891.....	.65	1903.....	1.20
1892.....	.78	1904.....	1.16
1893.....	.70	1905.....	1.44
1894.....	.91	1906.....	1.61
1895.....	.79	1907.....	1.70
1896.....	1.00	1908.....	1.90

(b) The expenditure of the International for "defensive" purposes includes the sums paid in strike relief, the expenses and salaries of officers engaged in adjusting difficulties with employers,⁴ and special appropriations made to assist local unions. The disbursements for these purposes from 1887 to 1908 inclusive were as follows:

1887.....	\$0.13	1898.....	\$0.86
1888.....	.69	1899.....	1.24
1889.....	.39	1900.....	2.89
1890.....	.57	1901.....	.73
1891.....	.76	1902.....	.79
1892.....	1.80	1903.....	.77
1893.....	1.59	1904.....	1.59
1894.....	1.07	1905.....	.85
1895.....	.80	1906.....	18.01
1896.....	.71	1907.....	34.90
1897.....	1.19	1908.....	14.68

The chief characteristic of the expenditure for "defensive" purposes, it will be noted, is its great variation in amount in different years. In half of the years since

⁴Since 1900 the expenses and salaries of officers engaged in organizing new local unions have also been included in the expenditure for "defensive" purposes. Before that time such disbursements were included in general expenditures. The amount paid out for organizing is relatively so small, however, as not to affect the comparison.

1890 the per capita expenditure has been from 71 to 85 cents. The largest expenditure in any year prior to 1906 was \$2.89 in 1900, while in 1906 and 1907 the expenditures were \$18.01 and \$34.90 respectively.

(c) In 1892 a home for aged and infirm printers was opened at Colorado Springs. The per capita expenditure for the erection and the improvement of the buildings and the maintenance of the home has been as follows:

1892.....	\$1.44	1901.....	\$1.39
1893.....	.78	1902.....	1.70
1894.....	.92	1903.....	1.41
1895.....	.74	1904.....	1.32
1896.....	.80	1905.....	1.30
1897.....	1.28	1906.....	1.24
1898.....	1.43	1907.....	1.59
1899.....	1.03	1908.....	1.84
1900.....	1.24		

On account of the inclusion of the outlay for new buildings and repairs, the expenditure has been irregular from year to year, but there has been a gradual increase in the per capita expenditure due to the increase in the number of inmates.

(d) Since January 1, 1892, the International has paid a burial benefit on the death of any member in good standing. The amount of the benefit, originally \$50, has been raised by degrees until in 1908 it was \$75. The following table shows the per capita expenditure for this purpose from 1893 to 1908 inclusive:

1893.....	\$0.72	1901.....	\$0.72
1894.....	.80	1902.....	.80
1895.....	.77	1903.....	.73
1896.....	.75	1904.....	.84
1897.....	.84	1905.....	.85
1898.....	.80	1906.....	.79
1899.....	.83	1907.....	.92
1900.....	.79	1908.....	.81

The annual per capita expenditure for burial benefits has been fairly regular, ranging from 72 to 92 cents. The

rapid increase in the membership of the union from 1899 to 1903 was accompanied by a decline in the death rate which counterbalanced in effect the increase made during that time in the amount of the benefit.⁵ From 1904 to 1908 the death rate increased slightly as against the rate in the years 1901-1903. The per capita expenditure has thus been somewhat larger in recent years, partly on account of the increasing death rate, but chiefly on account of the increase in the amount of the benefit.

The financial management of the burial benefit has heretofore presented no difficult problem. The death rate has shown no regular tendency to increase, since the benefits have not been sufficiently large to induce members of the union to retain their connection. If a member who retires from the trade desires to retain his beneficiary rights, he must pay the full dues of the International. The total dues in 1907 were 40 cents monthly, of which only 17½ cents was devoted to the maintenance of the burial benefit and the home. The establishment in 1907 of the old age pension will, undoubtedly, influence many members to continue their membership. This will increase the number of older members; and, as a result, the death rate will be higher. The per capita expenditure for the payment of burial benefits will in the future probably rise very considerably. How large the number of lapses has

⁵The death rate for each year from 1893 to 1908 inclusive has been as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Death Rate per 1,000</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Death Rate per 1,000</i>
1893.....	14.41	1901.....	11.04
1894.....	15.83	1902.....	12.35
1895.....	13.60	1903.....	11.21
1896.....	13.10	1904.....	12.52
1897.....	14.05	1905.....	12.13
1898.....	13.42	1906.....	11.38
1899.....	14.03	1907.....	13.20
1900.....	13.05	1908.....	12.30

been heretofore can be judged from the fact that a member would have to pay the tax levied for the support of the burial benefit eighty-three years before he would have paid in the amount of the benefit, and yet the income from this tax has always been sufficient for the payment of the benefits.

Although the total per capita expenditure of the International has increased rapidly since 1888, it is less in normal years than that of several other American trade unions.⁶ The Cigar Makers' Union, organized in 1864, paid out in 1905 \$16 per capita. The Typographia, the German branch of the Typographical Union, with a membership of 994, paid out in the same year \$20 per capita. The large expenditures of these organizations are due chiefly to heavy payments for beneficiary purposes.

Revenue.—The development of the revenue system of the International falls into three periods. In the first of these, from 1852 to 1860, inclusive, the revenue was derived almost entirely from a tax of 5 per cent on the receipts of the subordinate unions. This method of raising revenue was copied from the Odd Fellows.⁷ The objection to the system was that the more progressive local unions were assessed at a heavier rate. The rate was not high enough, however, to make the tax a perceptible burden.

The session of 1860 substituted for the tax on receipts an assessment on each member of the subordinate unions in good standing. This tax—known as "the per capita

⁶ The old age pension system adopted in 1907 by the Typographical Union will, according to the estimate of the secretary-treasurer of the International, necessitate an additional annual per capita expenditure of more than \$3.

⁷ The constitution adopted by the Washington Convention of 1836 contained a similar provision (Proceedings of National Typographical Convention, 1836).

tax"—has since been the chief financial resource of the International. In the fiscal year 1905, for example, the total revenue of the Union was \$244,689.24, of which the regular monthly per capita tax of 40 cents brought in \$227,575.00. The chief minor sources of revenue were fees for charters, sales of supplies, and receipts from the *Typographical Journal*. The per capita tax varied only slightly in amount from 1860 to 1884; the annual rate was never below 20 cents and never above 25 cents. As the expenditures of the International have increased, the receipts have been increased by raising the rate of the per capita tax. The rate since 1885 has been as follows:

1885-1887.....	40 cents annually
1888-1890.....	10 cents monthly
1891.....	20 cents monthly
1892-1896.....	25 cents monthly
1897-1902.....	30 cents monthly
1903-1907.....	40 cents monthly
1908.....	45 cents monthly

The substitution for the per capita tax of a tax on earnings has been much discussed in recent years. The session held in 1890 recommended to the subordinate unions that they should collect their revenue by taxing each member a percentage of his wages.⁸ A considerable number of local unions adopted the plan, and an active agitation for its use by the International began. The session held in 1896, against an unfavorable report of the law committee, instructed the executive council to prepare a plan for the collection of International dues by the "percentage system."⁹ It was argued that two advantages would be secured by the adoption of the new system: (1) unemployed members would be exempted from taxation; and (2) the grave inequalities in the burden of taxation incident to the uniform per capita tax system

⁸ Proceedings, 1890, p. 79.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 117.

would be removed. In opposition it was urged that the local unions could exempt unemployed members from taxation and pay for them their International dues, and that the "percentage system" was cumbersome and offered opportunities for evading taxation. The proposition, submitted to a vote of the membership, was defeated by an overwhelming majority; of 12,904 votes cast, 11,477 were against the plan.¹⁰

In 1906 the "percentage system" was used by the International for the first time. In November, 1905, a half-dollar weekly assessment was levied for the support of the eight-hour strike. That proving insufficient, in January, 1906, the union voted a 10 per cent assessment on wages.¹¹ The conditions were peculiarly favorable for the use of an income tax. The unemployed were naturally numerous; and, on the members of the smaller unions, in which wages were lowest and enthusiasm for the eight-hour day least, a per capita tax would have weighed heavily. The tax appears to have worked satisfactorily, and the International has now provided for supplementing its per capita tax by a tax of one-half of one per cent of earnings. The new tax is levied for the specific purpose of providing old age pensions. In 1908, therefore, the regular revenue of the International was derived from a per capita tax of 45 cents and a tax of one-half of one per cent of wages.

This development, from a tax on the receipts of local unions to a per capita tax, and finally to a combined capitation and income tax, is due largely to the change in the

¹⁰ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 10, p. 440; Vol. 11, pp. 27, 56, 61, 140.

¹¹ The 10 per cent assessment was levied for nine months; on October 1, the assessment was reduced to 7 per cent; on November 19, it was reduced to 5 per cent; on February 3, 1907, to 3 per cent; on March 3, to 2 per cent, and on March 1, 1908, it was discontinued.

relation of the International to the members of local unions. As long as the International was conceived as a combination of local unions, the form of taxation by which it supported itself was immaterial, provided substantial equality was preserved among the local unions. The per capita tax, while it was small, was not regarded as a tax on the members of the local unions, but merely as a device for apportioning a charge among the local unions. As the tax has been increased and the International has assumed beneficiary and "defensive" functions of direct importance to the members of the local unions, there is a growing tendency in levying International taxes to consider the ability of the individual members. Since, however, the greater part of the expenditure of the International is made directly to the members in the form of friendly benefits or strike relief, it is not likely that the principle of payment according to ability will be carried to its logical limit. The Printers will feel that since all members receive the same benefits all should be taxed equally. The solidarity of feeling in the union is not great enough to make it practicable to rest the revenue system entirely on an income tax.

An increasingly important source of International revenue since 1892 has been the special assessment. The first attempt to levy a special assessment was made in 1887 when the executive council assessed each member of the subordinate unions \$1. Many local unions protested, and some refused to pay their quota; and the session of 1888 agreed to refund all the money that had been collected.¹² In 1892 while the International was engaged in a costly strike at Pittsburg, a proposition to levy a weekly assessment of 10 cents on all members of subordinate unions was submitted to referendum and approved.

¹² Proceedings, 1888, pp. 15, 178.

Since that time special assessments have been levied on four occasions: in 1897, to build an annex to the Home; in 1899, on account of a second costly strike at Pittsburg; in 1900, on account of simultaneous strikes at Kansas City, Pittsburg, and New York; and, finally, in 1906-1908, to supply funds for carrying on the great struggle for the establishment of the eight-hour day. The total revenue of the International from special assessments to May 31, 1908, was approximately \$3,000,000, of which \$2,800,000 was collected in 1906-1908.¹³

The International officers have never been satisfied with the special assessment as a means of financing strikes. Under the constitution, the executive council must submit the proposition for an assessment to referendum. At least a month is required to take the vote, and the uncertainty of the result has a bad effect. Moreover, the International officials may, on occasion, be badly in need of money to pay strike relief before the assessment can be collected. The executive council has at various times proposed to the membership other plans of financing strikes. In 1899 the membership voted on a proposal to empower the council to levy assessments. Another proposal submitted at the same time provided for a per capita tax of 10 cents monthly to be devoted to the establishment of a permanent "defense fund" of \$100,000. Both propositions were defeated, although the majority against the former one was not large.¹⁴ In 1900 a proposal to levy a per capita tax of 6 cents for the establishment of a reserve fund was defeated by a large

¹³ In 1906-1908 certain local unions were allowed to retain their assessments for local use. The sums thus retained amounted to \$1,250,000. The total revenue from special assessments levied in 1906 and 1907 by the International Union exceeded \$3,550,000.

¹⁴ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 15, pp. 195, 196; Vol. 16, p. 95.

majority.¹⁵ The union has been opposed to increasing the funds at the absolute disposal of its officers. The same feeling that has kept in existence the antiquated convention—the desire to maintain some effective supervision of the official staff—has made the membership unwilling to forego its direct sanction of all extraordinary expenditures for “defensive” purposes. Although the union has never refused to approve an assessment proposed by the council, the possibility that it may refuse is always present.

By a favorable combination of circumstances, however, the council was able to secure in 1903 the establishment of a small reserve fund. In 1902 the union had voted, for another purpose, a presumably temporary increase of 5 cents monthly in the regular per capita tax. At the session of 1903 the president suggested that this tax should be continued and the sum realized should be devoted to a “special defense fund.”¹⁶ The membership, already accustomed to the payment of the tax, assented to its continuance. The fund thus created is absolutely at the disposal of the executive council,¹⁷ and is held primarily as a reserve. By May 31, 1905, it amounted to \$37,671. The great strike of 1905-1907 exhausted it within a few weeks and it became necessary to resort to a special assessment. On May 31, 1908, the fund amounted to \$105,364.

Collective bargaining on a national scale entails the possibility at intervals of very costly strikes. Although it seems hardly practicable to obviate entirely the necessity of special assessments, the burden of costly struggles may be distributed to some extent over a period of years by the establishment of a reserve fund. Perhaps the

¹⁵ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 17, p. 401.

¹⁶ *Proceedings*, 1903, p. 15.

¹⁷ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 23, pp. 223, 622.

greatest advantage in the maintenance of such a fund of moderate amount is the ability to pay strike relief promptly while the vote is being taken and the assessment collected. In any national strike, however, the taking of a vote has political advantages which may be expected to outweigh the purely financial reasons advanced for an extreme reserve policy.

Administration.—The chief problem in the administration of the International's finances has been the difficulty encountered in the collection of the per capita tax. In the early years the subordinate unions were careless as to whether they paid any dues or not, since affiliation with the National Union was not very important to a local union. As the card system gradually became effective, the local unions, desirous of securing the acceptance of their cards by other local unions, became reluctant to be expelled. The National Union was able, therefore, by degrees to secure regular payment of dues. In 1888 subordinate unions were required to pay their per capita tax within three months on penalty of suspension. When the burial benefit was introduced, in 1892, an additional incentive to the subordinate unions to keep in good standing was added. No claim for a burial benefit was allowed if the union of which the deceased was a member was in arrears for its per capita tax. Since then the number of suspensions of unions for non-payment of dues has been small. In 1905, a typical year, of 692 unions in existence, twelve were suspended. The total membership of these unions was 154.

The propensity to tax dodging on the part of the local unions was noted at a very early date. Each paid what it was willing, for no check on its report was possible. With the establishment of International headquarters and the increase in the per capita tax, attention began to be

paid to the serious abuses in its payment. At the session in 1888 the finance committee called attention to the fact that many of the larger unions paid on the same number of members year after year. The committee was convinced that some of these unions made returns on only a small part of their membership.¹⁸

No effective check was devised until the introduction in 1900 of the "stamp system" of collecting dues.¹⁹ Under the new system, the secretary-treasurer sells to the subordinate unions adhesive stamps or working cards with stamps printed thereon. Every member, on payment of his per capita tax, receives a stamp or a card, and a member not in possession of a stamped working card is not entitled to any benefits. It has thus been made practically impossible for the subordinate unions to evade the payment of dues on every member. The advantage of the system in securing the payment of dues cannot be estimated readily, since the period in which it was introduced was one of rapid increase in membership. How far the growth in paying membership was due to an increase in members, and how far to the introduction of the "stamp system" can only be conjectured. In the first five months after the system was put in force the average paying membership was 36,860, whereas in the same five months of the previous year the membership was 33,339. The adoption of the system probably increased the paying membership about 1500.²⁰

¹⁸ In 1897 the president of the Union said: "I have in mind a union which has paid us on exactly the same membership for months. More than once has the executive council been confronted with the fact that a union having a strike in one office had more names on the strike roll than it paid per capita tax on" (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 10, p. 441).

¹⁹ Proceedings, 1899, p. 31; *Ibid.*, 1900, p. 25; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 15, p. 196; Vol. 16, p. 95.

²⁰ Proceedings, 1901, p. 39.

The disbursement of the funds involves no administrative difficulties. The rules of the International determine with exactness the persons to whom the payments shall be made. The only large amount whose disposition is discretionary is the "defense fund." The executive council has always been charged with the administration of this fund. On occasion, the session has been appealed to by the representatives of various local unions to make appropriations which the executive council was unwilling to make. Naturally the circumstances surrounding these occasions have usually been unfavorable to careful consideration.²¹ Such appropriations have, however, become rarer in recent years.

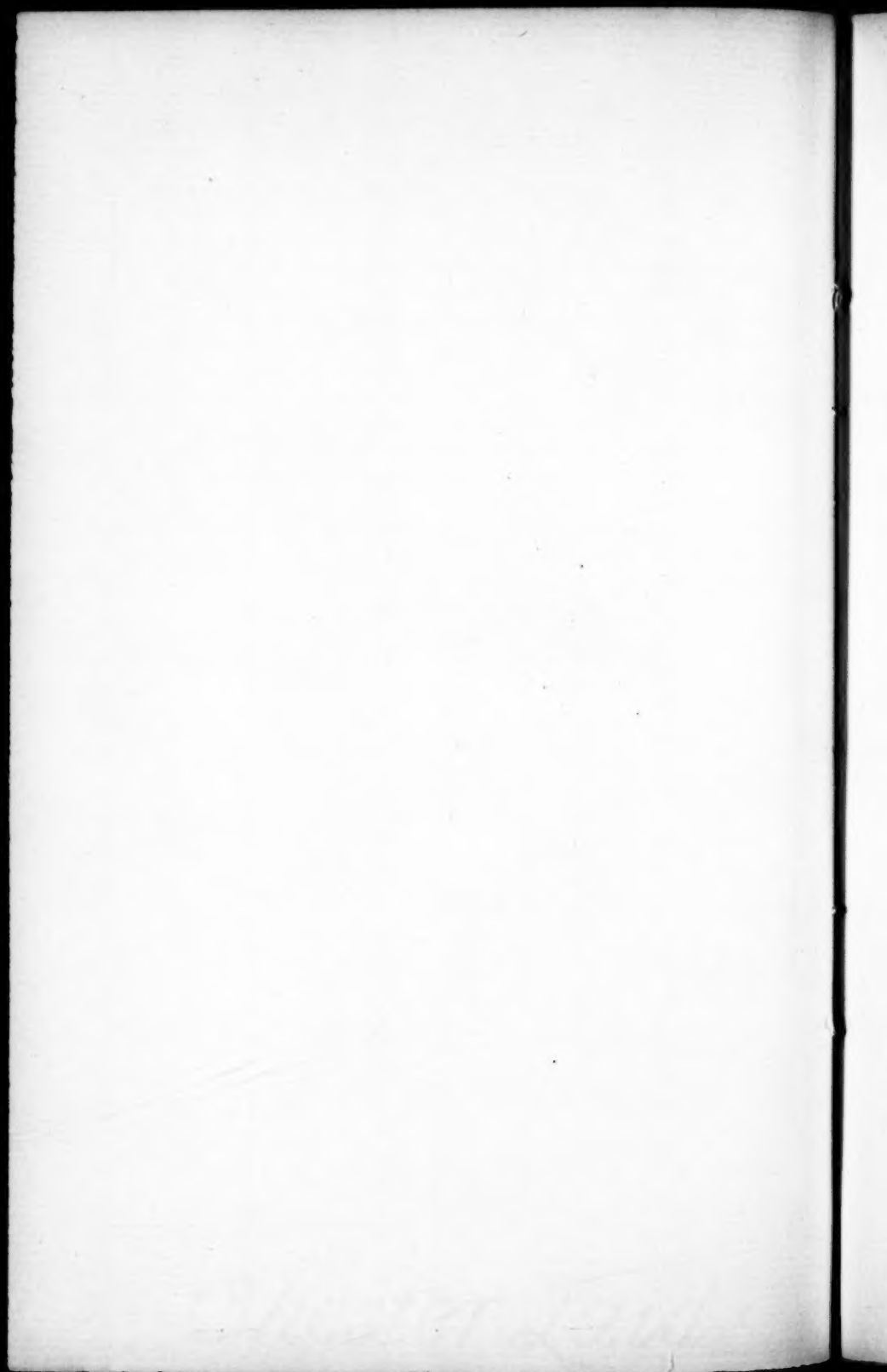
The local typographical unions enjoy the greatest possible freedom from any interference on the part of the International in their financial concerns.²² A local union may establish a benefit not paid by the International, or it may supplement an International benefit by establishing the same benefit. It may, if it sees fit, pay its members when on strike an additional weekly allowance over and above that received from the International. It follows that there are wide variations in the per capita expenditures of the local unions. The unions in the small towns, whose members receive low wages, expend from their

²¹ The severe characterization of these grants by President Prescott appears warranted. "Most frequently the reason these raids for subventions are made is because the promoters are conscious of the weakness of their case and their consequent inability to convince the councillors of their right to a portion of the International funds. But they hope through the environments incident to convention week to secure the adoption of a resolution ordering the payment of large sums out of the International treasury. The history of those appropriations is that the convention's generosity has been misplaced" (Proceedings, 1898, p 20).

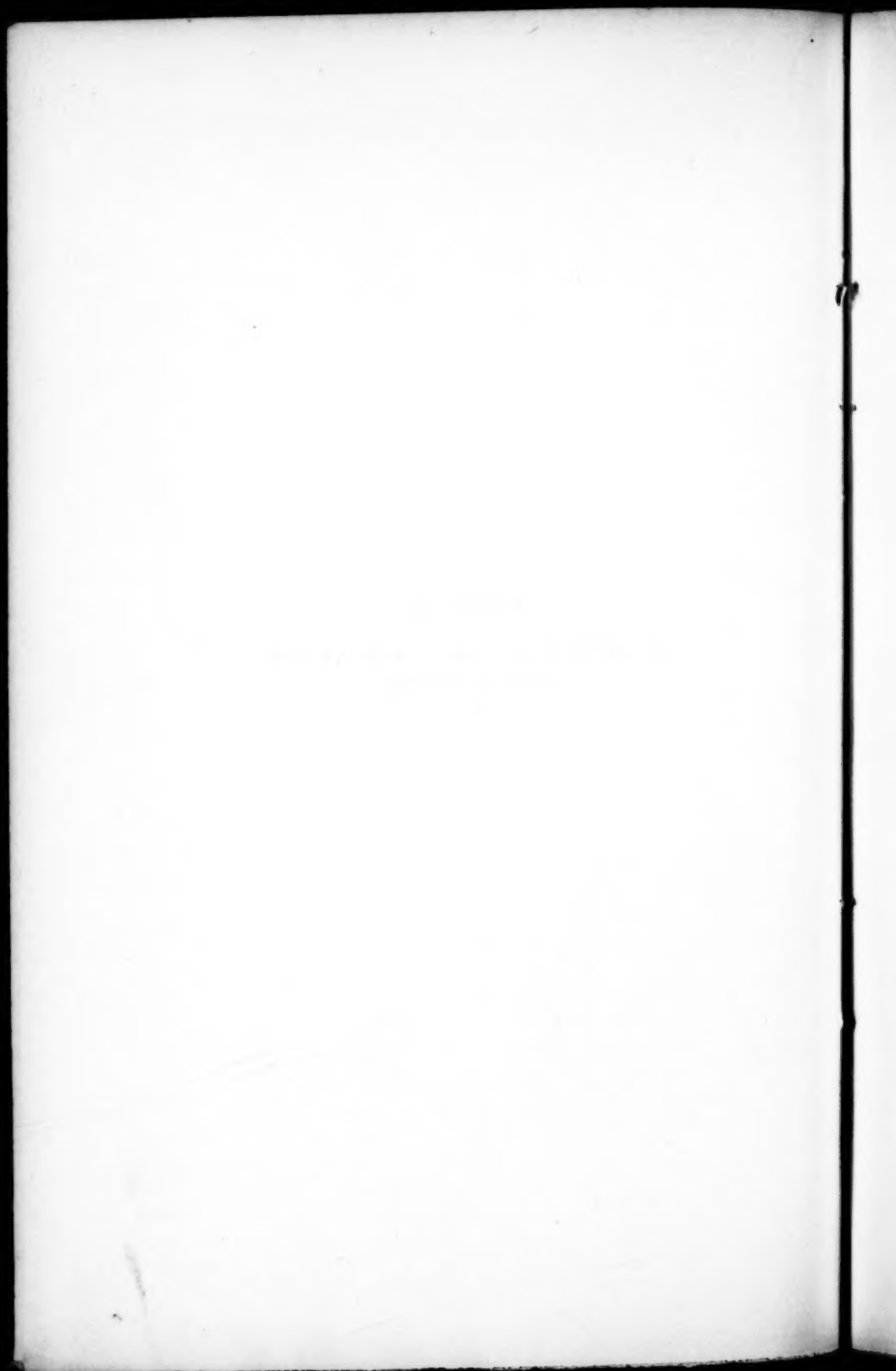
²² The only International rules concerning local finances are certain provisions with reference to the safeguarding of local funds.

own treasury only the cost of hall rent and the allowance of a secretary. Their members are entitled to no benefits other than those paid by the International; if they are called out on strike they receive International strike pay and no more.

It is impossible, on account of the lack of adequate statistics, to determine what effect the expansion of International activities has had on the expenditures of the local unions. Since the International undertakes the support of strikes, cares for the burial of the dead, and the maintenance of the aged, it might be supposed that the outlay of the local unions would have decreased, but as far as can be judged from the inadequate data at hand, such does not appear to have been the case. The local unions have seemingly added new activities as rapidly as the International has absorbed their old ones.



PART II
MUTUAL INSURANCE AND TRADE
REGULATIONS



CHAPTER VII

MUTUAL INSURANCE

The early typographical societies laid equal stress upon beneficiary activities¹ and the establishment of trade regulations which would "assure to their members an adequate return for their labor."² The beneficiary activities of these societies were not a shield for the concealment of their real aims; nor were the benefits simply or chiefly a means for the better enforcement of trade regulations. Mutual insurance and trade regulation were regarded as coördinate functions.

The benefits paid by the early societies in Philadelphia, New York, and Washington were established to meet the pressing needs occasioned by sickness and death. The original constitution of the Philadelphia society gave the board of directors power to award "sums to sickly and distressed members, their widows, and children." The amount of such "alimony" was not to exceed \$3 per week. Also, a burial benefit of \$10 was paid on the death of a member.³ The same provisions appear in

¹ Mutual Insurance", in the sense in which the term is used in this monograph, does not include the so-called "trade benefits." The term "benefit" is used by the present writer synonymously with the English term "friendly benefit." There is a clear distinction between "trade benefits" and "friendly benefits", and it seems desirable that the term "benefit" should be confined entirely to the latter class.

² In 1815 the committee of correspondence of the Columbia society declared that the newly formed society had for its objects: "first, benevolence, and, second, the establishment of a regular system of prices."

³ In New York and Philadelphia the burial benefit was increased to \$25 within a short time after the foundation of the societies.

the constitutions of both the New York and the Washington societies. The administration of the sick benefit in the societies was simple but effective. In Philadelphia the three junior members of the board of directors were constituted a visiting committee, whose duty it was to investigate and report upon the cases of the applicants for relief. The New York society for a considerable time relied upon the statements of members made in open meeting as to the need for relief, but in 1815 the three junior directors were charged with the duty of personally investigating the claims. The sick benefits in all the early societies were paid as a charity. The members did not claim or expect relief in case of sickness merely because they were ill, but because they were also "distressed."⁴

Some of the societies organized about 1830 paid benefits of much the same kind as those of the early societies. A member of the Baltimore Typographical Society, for example, was entitled to a weekly sick benefit of \$2.50; and, at the death of any member of one year's standing, the sum of \$30 was allowed for defraying his funeral expenses. The sick benefit was not regarded as a charity, but was paid irrespective of the need of the member. Other societies of the period definitely subordinated their beneficiary functions to their trade-regulating aims. The funds of the New York Typographical Association, for example, were devoted primarily to the relief of members "thrown out of employment in consequence of not ob-

⁴On June 28, 1806, the board of directors of the Philadelphia society instituted an investigation into the conduct of the visiting committee which, it was charged, had urged a sick member who was not in needy circumstances to ask for relief. The board declared in a formal resolution that it was improper for any member of the board to "persuade or insist upon a sick member (capable of maintaining or supporting himself) whom they may visit to demand or receive the highest sum allowed by the constitution to sick and distressed members."

taining a price for their labor in accordance with the scale." Appropriations for the "relief of sick members and for the burial of deceased brethren" were to be made only when the fund in the treasury exceeded \$500. From 1830 the associations and unions as a whole were much more militant than their predecessors had been; and their beneficiary activities lessened.⁵ The higher dues necessitated by the maintenance of benefits prevented some printers from joining who otherwise would have become members;⁶ and the associations and unions were anxious to bring every journeyman into affiliation.

More potent still, perhaps, in leading to the abandonment of the local beneficiary systems was the desire to facilitate as much as possible the transfer of members from one society to another. The higher initiation fees and the period of preliminary membership required by the beneficiary societies were serious obstacles to the working out of the plans for a national organization. This feeling is reflected in the attitude which the early national conventions assumed toward the local beneficiary systems. The National Typographical Society in 1836 suggested that the local societies should admit printers who held cards to "trade benefits" without requiring the payment of an initiation fee. The Convention of Journeymen Printers recommended in 1850 "to all Typographical Trade Associations to abolish the so-called benefit system;"⁷ and in 1853 the National Union adopted a resolution requiring "such of its subordinates as yet

⁵It is significant that in 1842 the Baltimore society entirely abandoned its beneficiary activities.

⁶In 1853 a number of printers living in New York City alleged in a petition to the National Union that the New York union maintained beneficiary features which enhanced the cost of membership so largely as to deter many printers from joining.

⁷Proceedings of the Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States, 1850, p. 12.

retain the beneficiary system to alter their rules so as to admit to their fellowship those members of the craft who wish to be admitted for trade purposes only."⁸

Some local unions admitted travelling printers to "trade membership", and gave beneficiary rights only to those who had been members for a prescribed period and had paid an initiation fee; but a dangerous cleavage of interests within the union was thereby occasioned.⁹ By the time of the Civil War it had become unusual for a local union to pay benefits, and the weight of opinion was strongly against the advisability of combining trade and beneficiary functions.¹⁰ Although the local beneficiary systems were abandoned, an International system was not established until 1892. Under an International system a member of one local union could have passed readily into membership in another, since he would not have lost his beneficiary right on removing to another jurisdiction; but the International Union was, at the time, too weak to undertake such extensive functions. The beneficiary activities of the Printers from 1865 to 1892 were, therefore, very slight.

The most important form of relief given during these

⁸ Proceedings, 1853, p. 16.

⁹ In 1872 the International expressed its strong disapproval of any "discrimination on account of the relative position the deceased may have held in his organization" (Proceedings, 1872, pp. 35, 41).

¹⁰ In September, 1870, the *Printers' Circular*, the official organ of the International Union, set forth the generally accepted grounds for this view as follows: "Trade societies have a legitimate mission, the regulating of purely trade matters; and the more closely they are confined to the objects of their organization, the less expensive and the more successful they will be. The costs of belonging to them should be as light as is consistent with their proper maintenance, so that the expense of membership might not be an argument against them in the mind of any man struggling to maintain his credit with the landlord and the butcher. For this reason, objects which may be attained by voluntary associations independent of trade societies should not be made compulsory in them."

years was assistance to travelling printers. Some local unions had funds for this purpose from which each applicant was given a specified sum; others gave only in exceptional cases; and still others left the matter entirely to the charity of individual members. The regulation of this relief was frequently considered by the International Union. A very early rule required that members on giving aid to a travelling member should endorse the amount upon the card of the recipient.¹¹ This rule was adopted in order to prevent abuses of private generosity; but it soon became customary for a local union, on making a loan to a travelling member, to endorse the amount on his card in the expectation that the local union in which the card was deposited would collect and return the sum advanced. Sometimes, if this was not done, the creditor union attempted to "rat" the delinquent printer, although he was now a member of another local union. The National Union uniformly refused to recognize such expulsions as proper, and in 1871 forbade the endorsing of loans upon the card.¹² Proposals for the establishment of a national system of travelling benefits were brought forward from time to time, but all were defeated.¹³

The formation of many mutual life insurance associations shortly after the Civil War led the International to consider the advisability of establishing an association for insuring the lives of union printers. A special committee, appointed in 1870, reported favorably and recommended that the opinion of the subordinate unions should be taken; but in 1871 the session voted the project "impracticable."¹⁴ From 1878 to 1885, one or more plans

¹¹ Proceedings, 1858, p. 46.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 30; *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 38.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 131; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 2, no. 4, p. 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 64.

for the formation of such an association were presented at almost every session. These were alike in some important particulars. All of them, for example, provided that only members of the local unions were to be admitted to the association, and that participation was to be voluntary; but they varied widely in financial details. Some of the plans provided that the members should be assessed a fixed amount whenever a death occurred, and that the sum realized should constitute the benefit; others provided for the payment by the association of a fixed sum on each death, and the assessment on each member was to be large enough to make it possible to pay the full sum. None of the plans made any provision for setting aside a reserve, and only a few provided for grading the amount of the assessment according to the age of the insured. The authors of the plans were uniformly optimistic as to the low rate at which insurance could be furnished.¹⁵

The attitude of the International toward these projects was vacillating in the extreme. It favored the adoption of some plan for furnishing mutual life insurance; but for a long time no one of those submitted commended itself to a majority at any session. Finally, in 1886, a committee reported one which was satisfactory, and an "insurance branch" was established. Membership in the branch was voluntary, and only members of local unions were admitted. An assessment of 25 to 50 cents, according to age at time of entrance, was levied at the death of any member of the branch, and the sum realized was paid to the heirs of the deceased. It was provided that the amount paid, however, was not to exceed \$500, and, if any assessment yielded more, the surplus was to

¹⁵ On the basis of the returns from a letter of inquiry sent to the local unions, it was usually assumed in the plans that the annual death rate of the members was about eight per thousand.

be applied to the payment of the next claim.¹⁶ The membership of the branch never exceeded 700, and the highest amount paid on a death claim was \$184.10. Two years' experience convinced the union that its members would not join such an association in large numbers, and in 1888 the branch was dissolved.¹⁷

Interest in the establishment of International benefits was greatly stimulated by the gift of \$10,000 made to the union in 1886 by Messrs. Geo. W. Childs and A. J. Drexel. The International decided to hold this sum intact for five years, and the members of the local unions were asked to contribute annually in the meantime the price of 1000 ems of composition, or the pay received for one hour's work.¹⁸ While the fund was thus being increased, its disposition was actively discussed.¹⁹

A considerable sentiment in favor of the establishment of a home for aged printers soon developed. The persistency with which this project had appeared and reappeared almost since the formation of the National Union attested its popularity. In October, 1856, the *Philadelphia Typographic Advertiser* suggested the foundation in that city of an "Asylum for Decayed Printers"; and the Philadelphia Typographical Society obtained from employing printers promises of sums of money and of a site for the Asylum. A committee of the National Union reported favorably on the project in 1858, but in 1860 the session refused to appropriate its surplus fund to the Asylum.²⁰ This action and the outbreak of the Civil War were probably responsible for the failure of the plan. In

¹⁶ Proceedings, 1886, pp. 106, 109.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 174.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1886, pp. 16, 97.

¹⁹ In 1889 a proposal to use the fund as a reserve for a new insurance branch was defeated (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. I, no. 4, p. 3; Proceedings, 1889, pp. 32, 73).

²⁰ Proceedings, 1858, pp. 11, 13; *Ibid.*, 1860, pp. 53, 54.

1870 the Leavenworth (Kansas) local union proposed that the International should establish a "Home for Disabled Printers, the object being to have a comfortable place to which worn-out printers could retire and spend the evenings of their days, instead of sending them to the county poorhouses and finally filling paupers' graves, as too frequently occurs."²¹ The home was to be endowed by taxing the members of the local unions \$2 each. The committee to which this plan was referred reported that they "deemed it impracticable." In 1877 and in 1882 similar proposals were discussed.²² The session in each case approved the aim but was unable to assume the necessary expense.

The sentiment in favor of the establishment of a home was further stimulated by the receipt of several offers of land. At the first session of the International held after the Childs-Drexel gift had been made, the Austin (Texas) union announced that the city of Austin was willing to present a site for a home;²³ and in 1889 the board of trade of Colorado Springs proposed to give eighty acres of land within one mile of that city. An offer of a farm near Denver was also received.²⁴ The session finally decided to build a home at Colorado Springs, and this decision was approved by a vote of the membership.²⁵

Some members of the session were in favor of locating the home nearer to the great centers of population, but the majority believed that by building in the high and arid West the union could not only carry out the original design of providing a refuge for aged members, but could also provide a much needed sanitarium for printers ill

²¹ Proceedings, 1870, pp. 33, 55.

²² *Ibid.*, 1882, pp. 87, 97; *Ibid.*, 1883, pp. 57, 75.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1887, pp. 97, 122.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 54.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 70; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 1, no. 4, p. 2.

of tuberculosis. For some years certain of the Western local unions had been burdened by the coming of many printers in ill health. In 1887 a delegate from Denver requested the session of the International to formulate some plan for aiding these wanderers. In an appeal for aid to the session of 1889, the San Antonio local union thus described the difficulties under which it was laboring: "We have all the year round consumptive printers here who come mostly from the North and very often in the last stages of this dreadful disease; a great many being unable to do a bit of work and without any of the necessary funds to live on are consequently thrown on our hands for support and looking after."²⁶ It was intended that the home should relieve these Western unions of this burden.

The Printers' Home was formally opened on May 12, 1892. To be admitted, applicants must have been in continuous good standing as members of the union for five years. They must be approved by the local union of which they are at the time members. Those suffering from infectious and contagious diseases or from "tuberculosis in the last stage" are not admitted.²⁷ With these exceptions any member incapacitated by age or disease may become a resident of the home.

The average number of residents by years has been as follows:

1893.....	22.7	1901.....	90
1894.....	32.5	1902.....	89
1895.....	45.0	1903.....	106
1896.....	61.4	1904.....	124
1897.....	69	1905.....	134
1898.....	72	1906.....	143
1899.....	90	1907.....	143
1900.....	90	1908.....	150

²⁶ Proceedings, 1889, p. 42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 215; *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 41.

A considerable number of the residents are suffering from tuberculosis; in 1907, for example, of eighty-three persons admitted, forty were ill of that disease. The other inmates are chiefly old members who are unable to support themselves at the trade.

The home is held by a self-perpetuating corporation, known as "The Union Printers' Home", consisting of seven members. The members of the corporation are nominated, as other International officers are elected, by a vote of the membership, except that the president and secretary-treasurer of the International are ex-officio nominees for places in the corporation. The election of the union's nominees by the board to places in the corporation is purely formal. The by-laws of the corporation provide that if any member of it ceases to be a member of the union he shall lose his place in the corporation. By these legal devices the International, an unincorporated association, has been able to absolutely control the Home corporation.

The trustees, as the members of the corporation are called, meet annually at the home, but the active management is entrusted to a superintendent elected by them. The administration of the home has on several occasions been the subject of considerable criticism. Complaints of dishonesty in administration and of maltreatment of inmates were made within a year of its opening, but an investigation made by the trustees exonerated the superintendent. The building showed serious defects as soon as it was occupied, and a considerable outlay was required to make it safe and serviceable. No effective supervision of the work while in progress appears to have been made.²⁸ In 1896 charges were made by one of the residents to the New York local union, and an in-

²⁸ Proceedings, 1893, p. 215.

vestigation was made by a committee appointed by the International president.²⁹ The superintendent of the home, annoyed by the criticism, resigned. Again, in 1900, a number of the residents, in a communication to the session, alleged that the home was mismanaged and the residents improperly treated. The charges were not, however, sustained by the trustees.³⁰ Since the International officers are regarded as responsible for the administration of the home, their political opponents have readily taken up the complaints of residents. As a result, in almost every recent campaign for the election of International officers, the management of the home has been one of the leading issues. Under these circumstances shortcomings have undoubtedly been magnified.

The wisdom of the International in establishing and maintaining the home has frequently been questioned. It has been argued that the benefits of the institution go to a very limited number of members,³¹ and that the same sum expended in some more widely distributed form of benefit would be more useful in attracting and holding members. Popular sentiment in the union has, however, strongly favored the continuance and enlargement of the home; and the membership has never refused to vote an additional tax for its support when the officers have shown the need.

Even before the home was opened, the International determined to extend still further its beneficiary activities by the establishment of an International burial benefit. A few local unions had paid the burial expenses of members even when the "benefit system" was in least favor; and

²⁹ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 7, no. 7, p. 4; Vol. 8, p. 8.

³⁰ *Proceedings*, 1901, p. 77.

³¹ In 1907, for example, the total number of persons resident in the home during the year was 219 and the amount expended was \$66,267.72.

from about 1880 the number of such unions increased rapidly. In 1891 the secretary-treasurer of the International reported that 149 local unions, about one-half of the total number, paid burial benefits. The amounts paid ranged from \$25 to \$300, but the greater part of the unions paid from \$50 to \$75.³²

The local systems of burial benefits were unsatisfactory in several respects. Under the rules of the International, a union printer lost his membership, and consequently his right to benefits, in one union when he deposited his card with another. Since the unions required ordinarily that a printer should be in membership for a specified period before he became a beneficiary member, it resulted that a printer who passed from one union to another was for a time unprotected. Many of the "tramp printers" did not remain in the jurisdiction of any one union long enough to acquire beneficiary rights.³³ The burial of these printers was, therefore, frequently a charity; and the burden fell unequally on the local unions. The same Western unions that felt so keenly the burden of caring for consumptive printers complained that they had to pay the burial expenses of many printers who had unsuccessfully sought health within their jurisdictions.³⁴

³² Proceedings, 1891, p. 23.

³³ In 1880 a delegate to the session of the International proposed, without success, that a member who was "beneficial" in one union should retain his beneficiary rights until a sufficient time had elapsed to enable him to become entitled to benefits in the union to which he had removed (Proceedings, 1880, pp. 60, 69).

³⁴ The burden upon these unions has been sensibly lessened by the establishment of the home and the International burial benefit, but it is still heavy. In 1900 the Denver union secured the passage of an International rule permitting a local union to reject the card of a member "physically or mentally unable to earn a livelihood at the printing business." In 1903, however, the rule was repealed. In 1908 the executive council was authorized to aid local unions "burdened with sick members."

The matter created little concern until about 1888, when the complaints of the Western unions and the increase in the popularity of the death benefit combined to concentrate attention upon the subject. Some delegates, fearful of encroaching upon the functions of the local unions, yet realizing the desirability of making some provision for the burial of travelling printers, proposed that the International should pay the burial expenses of all printers holding travelling cards. The adoption of this plan would not have relieved the Western unions of their burden to any appreciable extent, nor would it have served to protect a member during the time he was acquiring beneficiary rights in a local union. The only effect would have been to provide for the burial of members who died while not affiliated with any local union. The advocates of an International burial benefit to be paid on the death of every member in good standing prevailed at the session held in 1891.³⁵ The plan was ratified by referendum, and has been effective since January 1, 1892. The amount of the benefit was originally \$50; in 1895 it was increased to \$60; in 1904, to \$70; and in 1908, to \$75.

The founding of the home and the establishment of the burial benefit were due not so much to the desire to build up a system of benefits as to make provision for certain conditions caused by the movement of members from one local union to another. The free passage of members from union to union had been from the outset a fundamental principle in the alliance of the local unions, and it was felt that a few local unions should not by the operation of this principle be burdened disproportionately with the care of the sick and the burial of the dead. The union, on the whole, still remained convinced that

³⁵ Proceedings, 1891, p. 133.

as a general rule the assumption of beneficiary activities by a trade union was not good policy; and for fifteen years after the inauguration of the burial benefit and the establishment of the home the membership steadily refused to sanction proposals for new International benefits.

The doctrine that a system of benefits is an aid in securing the enforcement of trade regulations has, however, gradually come into favor. As early as 1883 the International recommended to the subordinate unions the payment "of mortuary and benefit claims as a means of securing and retaining the permanent interest of the members of the fraternity;"³⁶ but there was no official advocacy of the establishment of a system of benefits on this ground until the accession to office in 1892 of President Prescott. As a delegate to the session of 1891, Mr. Prescott had presented the plan for the establishment of the burial benefit; and for seven years, as president, he constantly urged an increase in the beneficiary activities of the International.

The characteristic feature of his long campaign was the importance which he ascribed to a system of benefits as a means of promoting the strength and stability of the union.³⁷ He favored impartially sick or out-of-

³⁶ Proceedings, 1884, p. 67.

³⁷ Arguing in 1893 for the establishment of a sick benefit, he said: "It will not only help materially in securing new members but assist greatly in retaining them as well as those now affiliated with us. Much as we may deplore it, large numbers of our fellow craftsmen are not sufficiently discriminative or far-sighted to perceive the mighty influence organization has on wages and conditions, and an immediate and tangible benefit must be shown in order to secure their attention" (Proceedings, 1893, p. 16). In 1896 he said: "The history of our organization demonstrates that coincident with enhanced dues and benefits, the membership increased, payments were made promptly, and we became a greater influence for good" (Proceedings, 1896, p. 12).

work benefits as sentiment in the union appeared to make possible the adoption of the one or the other. In 1893 he advocated the establishment of a sick benefit. The session submitted to vote an elaborate plan, not only for sick benefits but for other benefits as well, but it was defeated. In 1894, taking advantage of the strong sympathy for the old members of the union who had been thrown out of employment by the introduction of the linotype, the president proposed that the International should establish an out-of-work benefit; the session refused, however, to submit the proposition to the membership. In 1896 he renewed his recommendation for an out-of-work benefit, and the session authorized the submission of the proposition,³⁸ but it was defeated by a small majority. The hardships involved in the introduction of the linotype having become less acute and the possibility of securing the establishment of a system of out-of-work benefits therefore more remote, the president returned in 1898 to his plan for inaugurating a system of sick benefits, as offering a better prospect of adoption; but the session would not submit the proposition.³⁹

President Lynch, who came into office in 1901, has favored quite as strongly the policy of extending the beneficiary activities of the International. In his first report to the session he declared himself in favor of a "maximum death benefit of \$500, a sick benefit fund, out-of-work fund, old age fund dependent on length of continuous membership, and any other form of special assistance that wisdom might from time to time dictate." A special committee appointed to investigate the subject recommended in 1903 that the International should aim within the near future to establish three benefits: a death

³⁸ Proceedings, 1896, pp. 79, 86.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 15, 99.

benefit graded in amount from \$65 to \$500, according to the length of continuous membership; a sick benefit; and an old age pension. It advised that the first step in this program should be the grading and increasing of the existing death benefit; but the session refused to submit this proposition to the membership on the ground that the time was an unfavorable one.⁴⁰

About 1904 a strong sentiment in favor of the establishment of an old age pension system began to develop in the union; and in 1905 the session authorized the appointment of a committee to investigate the question.⁴¹ In 1907 the committee reported a plan, under which a pension of \$4 per week was to be paid to all members sixty years of age and in continuous good standing for twenty years who were unable to "secure sustaining employment" and who had no adequate means of support.⁴² The proposition was approved by the session and when submitted to the membership was carried by a vote of 17,177 to 9914. The payment of pensions began on August 1, 1908.

Several circumstances combined to make the plan for the establishment of a system of old age pensions popular with the membership despite the heavy expenditure entailed. The foundation of the home had made provision for those incapacitated members who were willing to live in an institution, but those who had families and did not desire to leave them were entirely unaided. The

⁴⁰ Proceedings, 1902, p. 152; *Ibid.*, 1903, pp. 80, 161.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 164.

⁴² The session of 1908 amended in several important particulars the requirements for eligibility to the pension. The provision debarring members who had "adequate means of support" was struck out, and "sustaining employment" was defined to mean employment in the printing trade at not less than \$4 per week. The aim of these amendments was to remove from the pension any imputation of charity.

union felt that the relief given by the home should be supplemented by outdoor relief for those who preferred to live elsewhere. Moreover, certain events had made the union highly sensible of the hardships suffered by its aged members. Twice within recent years large numbers of old men had been retired from the trade and their ability to earn a living impaired or destroyed. The displacement of hand compositors due to the introduction of the linotype had affected most seriously this class of members;⁴³ and in the great eight-hour strike of 1905-1907 the aged members who came out on the order of the union were in many cases unable to secure employment again.⁴⁴ It seemed clear that every considerable readjustment in the trade was likely to affect most seriously the older members.⁴⁵

⁴³ In 1896 President Prescott said: "Owing to the wonderful powers of expansion possessed by the printing business, few of our younger and more competent members have felt seriously the injury inflicted by the sudden and somewhat unlooked for introduction of machines; but the older members suffered not only by losing situations on newspapers, but in seeing almost every avenue of employment in the trade closed by a rush of younger and more active men for situations that were formerly regarded as the preserve of our older members" (Proceedings, 1896, p. 12).

⁴⁴ The committee on old age pensions in its report to the session of 1907 said: "The recent eight-hour struggle has left many old men who gave up the last position they would ever have for the principle and honor involved, and for these benefits, lasting and positive to the young men, the old men have subscribed their all, thus placing the International Union under a heavy mortgage to them, since without their aid the eight-hour struggle would not have been so successful."

⁴⁵ The strong sympathy for these unfortunate members had already led several local unions to make some provision for them. After the introduction of the linotype, the New York union established an out-of-work benefit of \$4 weekly, with a maximum in any one year of \$60. The recipients of the benefit were largely members who were incapacitated by age. In 1903 the Chicago union made provision for the payment of an old age pension of \$3 per week and began to build up an endowment fund from which the pensions

The present system of benefits, consisting of the home, a burial benefit, and an old age pension, is far less extensive than that which the leaders of the union hope to see ultimately established. In 1907 President Lynch, in presenting the old age pension plan for the consideration of the convention, said: "This relief program might well start with pensions for the incapacitated and superannuated. It should not, however, be permitted to rest with the establishment of such a pension. It has long been the belief of the president that the International Typographical Union is great enough, experienced enough, and in the possession of the necessary machinery to establish and successfully carry on out-of-work benefits, a pension system, and, last and greatest of the three, an insurance system."⁴⁶ It is probable that the International will extend its beneficiary activities rather by adding new benefits than by increasing the amounts of existing ones, since the members of local unions in the smaller towns, who receive low wages, will prefer to distribute among a variety of purposes the small sums they can afford to pay for benefits. The International benefits will form a minimum provision for every member, to be supplemented by each local union according to the income of its members.

The development of beneficiary activities in the International Union has followed unique lines. Many American trade unions have established funeral benefits, and some maintain sick and out-of-work benefits; but in the establishment of the home and an adequate system of old age pensions the Printers have been pioneers. The International has not shaped its policy chiefly on the theory that

were to be paid. The New Orleans and Albany unions in 1907 established old age pension systems.

⁴⁶ Proceedings, 1907, p. 13.

its beneficiary activities should be increased for the purpose of attracting and holding members. It has, consequently, not established those benefits which are considered most effective as aids in the enforcement of trade regulations, such as sick and out-of-work benefits, but has preferred to establish certain benefits which were indicated by special circumstances as desirable.

The International system of benefits by no means includes all the beneficiary activities of Printers. In almost every large city in the country they support beneficiary societies, which are distinct from the local unions and membership in which is voluntary. These are usually of two kinds: chapel societies, which admit only those members of the local union who work in a particular office; or local societies, which admit any member of the local union.⁴⁷ Moreover, a considerable number of local unions supplement the International burial benefit with an additional amount from their own treasuries. A few of the local unions maintain out-of-work benefits.

⁴⁷ The old beneficiary societies at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia admit union and non-union printers to membership.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STANDARD RATE

Practically the only trade regulation enforced by the early societies was that which required members, under penalty of expulsion, not to work for less than the wages set forth in the society's price list. On December 20, 1802, less than two months after the organization of the Philadelphia society, one of its members was put on trial "for having infringed the established prices." On his promise that he "would not in this city in one week from this date work for under wages, he was excused;" but later offenders were summarily expelled. The New York society was equally vigorous in the enforcement upon its members of the rule requiring them not to work "under price." Every trade-regulating printers' union formed since that time has laid chief stress upon similar regulations.

In order to make any effective regulation concerning the price at which the workmen in the trade shall sell their labor to the employers, it is necessary for a union to formulate or adopt a measure for the labor which is to be sold and to fix a price upon it. This price is ordinarily called a "standard" or "minimum" rate. Below that rate no workman in the union is allowed to sell his labor. The problems which a trade union encounters in formulating a standard rate differ widely according to the nature of the rate involved, *i. e.*, whether it is a piece rate or a time rate. With a piece rate, it is the product that is to be standardized. The varieties of product must be classified, the work must be defined, and a system of meas-

urement must be adopted. On the other hand, with a time rate, the difficulty lies in the differing capacities of the workmen. The Printers, in the framing of their price lists, or scales, as they have been known since 1809, have faced in succession the difficulties inherent in the formulation of both piece and time rates.

The method of remuneration customary in the trade when the early societies were established was the piece system.¹ The employer, to be sure, was allowed to make his choice as to whether he would pay by the week or by the piece. Some workers were always employed on time, but they were few in number, and the time scale was based on the amount which a piece worker could earn. The fundamental principle in the system of piece payment already in use and adopted by the early societies was that the compositor should be paid according to the number of pieces of type which he set. This number was not counted, but was estimated by calculating the area of the surface covered by the matter. The unit in which the area was measured was a square surface known as an em. Thus the compositor was paid in Philadelphia in 1802, 25 cents per thousand ems. For this price, however, he had not only to pick up the letters and arrange them in words and sentences, but to perform all the other operations necessary to prepare the matter for the pressman. First of all, he filled the boxes of his cases with pieces of type, a process known as distributing or "throwing in." After the matter was set, he took a proof and corrected his errors. In a book and job office he had also to divide the matter into pages of uniform length—an operation known as making up—and finally to

¹ The piece system appears to have been the ordinary method of payment in English printing offices since at least the beginning of the eighteenth century. See Hansard, T. C., *"Typographia"* (London, 1825), p. 778.

impose the pages, *i. e.*, arrange them in such a way that when an impression was taken the sheet would page properly.² The whole amount of work done in distributing, composing, making up, and imposing was paid for according to the estimated number of pieces of type set, and it was assumed that all the other operations were in proportion to the work of setting the type.

The difficulties encountered by the Printers in the working of this piece system may be divided into three classes as they group themselves around (a) the definition of the work of the printer, (b) the classification of various kinds of product, and (c) the unit of measurement.

The Definition of the Work.—It is usually necessary to define the work which a piece worker is expected to do for the specified rate. Otherwise the rate paid by one employer, although nominally the same as that paid by another, may be something far different. The most important condition thus imposed by the union upon the employer of piece-working printers was that if any alterations were made in the copy after the matter had been set the employer was to pay the compositor for the time required to make the changes. The revision of the Philadelphia scale in 1803 included a provision that if alterations were made from copy the compositor was to receive 20 cents per hour for the time he was employed in making them. A similar provision was made in all succeeding scales. Again if the compositor was required to distribute type which he did not use he was to be paid for the time so spent; or if he made a set of "furniture", *i. e.*, got together the pieces of wood used in making up,

²In daily newspaper offices the making up and imposing was done by specialized workers, known as "the printers", paid by the week. The newspaper offices until about 1850 were much less important than the book and job offices.

he was to have extra pay. The New York scale of 1833 provided that if the type furnished the compositor was defective, and he had to take it out after it had been set, he was to be paid at the hour rate for the time so spent. Extra pay was expected, however, only when the number of such letters was excessive, "due to faults in the founder, miscasts, or worn-out fonts." Such drawbacks as those noted were recognized by trade custom as carrying the right to some compensation; but the union scales defined them more explicitly and prescribed a definite rate of remuneration.

The Classification of the Work.—Obviously not all kinds of matter can be set with equal speed. The printers' piece scales set a price for ordinary or "common" matter, and a higher price was placed on certain other kinds which could not be set so rapidly. The higher priced matter was of various kinds.

In the first place, the language or the characters might be unusual. An English speaking printer could not set one thousand ems of French or Latin so quickly as he could set the same amount of English. In the case of a language like Hebrew or Greek, the compositor was impeded in his work not only by the strangeness of the language but by the unfamiliarity of the characters as well. Again, it might happen that while the bulk of a work was in English, a considerable number of foreign words might occur. If these words were in Roman characters, the compositor was not so much retarded; but if they were in Greek or Hebrew or other "dead characters", he had to leave the case at which he was working and go for his type to a case which contained the desired characters. In much the same way, certain classes of works with a variety of unusual characters, such as algebraical, musical, arithmetical, astronomical,

and pronouncing signs, were set up more slowly than common matter.

Secondly, the compositor might be retarded by having to spend on certain kinds of matter a greater amount of time in spacing out the lines, or, to use the technical term, in "justifying." In some kinds of work, as for example in tabular matter, the compositor had to arrange certain parts of one line so that they would fall directly under certain parts of the preceding line. To accomplish this required careful attention and perhaps experimentation. "Rule and figure work" for this reason was always priced higher than common matter; cut-in notes and side notes were also paid for at a higher rate. Moreover, if the matter was set in narrow columns, extra time was required for justifying.

Thirdly, the size of the type used was a factor in the speed of the compositor. To set one thousand pieces of very large type or one thousand pieces of very small type required more time than to set one thousand pieces of ordinary sized type. The larger type involved more time spent in justifying per 1000 ems,³ and the smaller type could not be picked up so rapidly by the compositor.

Before any printers' society was organized, the classes of matter noted above were, of course, roughly recognized as requiring more time to set than common matter; but the influence of the societies and unions was steadily exerted, first, to have them explicitly recognized as higher priced, and, secondly, to have a definite rate of differen-

³Hansard, *loc. cit.*, gives an additional reason for the differential rate on matter set in large type. "As far back (previous to 1785) as I have been enabled to trace any fixed price, it appears that composition was paid in some degree according to the size of the type used, upon the very rational principle that a compositor had much less interruption in the actual operation of composing or picking up his thousands when working upon small type than he would have when upon large by the more frequent making up and correcting."

tial remuneration assigned to each of them. The earliest price list formulated by the Philadelphia society was very simple. It set forth a price for week work, a price for common matter set in ordinary sizes of type, and a higher price for only one class of matter, *viz.*, common rule or figure work. On January 15, 1803, the Philadelphia society appointed a committee to add to their list of prices "such additional items for extra work as may come under their knowledge"; and on April 23, 1803, a revised scale was adopted which included prices for several classes of higher priced matter.

The same tendency is shown by a comparison of the New York scales of 1809 and of 1815. In the scale of 1809 nearly every form of "extra work" was enumerated; but with few exceptions the prices to be paid were expressly left to be settled by the journeymen and the employer. Certain kinds of work were thus defined as "extra", and the right of the workman to a higher piece rate for them established. If the number of notes was excessive, the price was to be "struck by the journeymen of the office and the employer." "Works done partly in figures and partly plain" were to be "paid in proportion to the trouble."⁴ In the scale of 1815, definite prices were assigned to all the forms of "extra work" enumerated except the side, bottom, and cut-in notes, the amount of the remuneration for which was still left explicitly to individual bargaining.

Although the societies and their successors, the unions, were all solicitous to classify "extra work" and to set prices upon it, the unions in different cities settled upon quite different "extra" prices for the same kind of work.

⁴The scale of 1809 is the first of the price lists which set forth in any elaboration the classes of matter. It is reprinted in Appendix 5. Copies are preserved in the Library of Congress and in the archives of the Philadelphia society.

In one case, that of the price for works in foreign languages, the differences are partially explainable by the fact that the printers in a particular city, or a considerable part of them, were familiar with the foreign language. Thus, the unusual provision in the New Orleans scale of 1839 that the price for English, French, and Spanish works should be the same was due to the mixed racial character of the population. But in many kinds of "extra work" the differences between the scales in different cities were the result simply of tradition and custom.

The desirability of bringing into uniformity the varied provisions of the local unions as to "extra" prices was frequently considered by the International Union. In practically every case the idea was not to establish prices for all kinds of "extra work", but for those kinds which occurred most frequently, *viz.*, tabular and columnar work. The ordinary practice of the local unions was to charge some kinds of tabular and columnar matter a differential over common matter of 50 per cent, and others a differential of 100 per cent, but they disagreed widely as to which kinds were "price and a half" and which were "double price." In 1858 the National Union declared that the question was a local one. In 1878 a comprehensive plan for classifying the various kinds of matter as "price and a half" and "double price" was submitted to the session of the International and defeated.⁵ Later proposals looking to the same end were uniformly rejected.

The rate for common matter was ordinarily the lowest rate, but the employers claimed, and a few unions conceded, a lower rate on matter set from printed copy. Matter of this kind was known as "reprint", and before the invention of stereotyping it constituted a considerable

⁵ Proceedings, 1858, p. 21; *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 39; *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 72.

part of the work in the large offices. Since the compositor lost no time in deciphering the copy, the employers contended that reprint should be set at a lower rate than matter set from manuscript. The New York scale of 1815, priced reprint lower than "works composed from manuscript copy." The New York scales of 1833, 1850, 1869, and the present scale have all recognized the same distinction, and the Philadelphia union for a time followed this precedent. Yet difficulties lay in the way of making such a distinction, for printed copy may be so interlined that it is as difficult to decipher as manuscript. The unions that allowed a differential in favor of reprint had accordingly to make some rough rule against interlineations. The New York union in its present scale defines as reprint, "printed copy substantially free from alterations or interlineations save remodelling of punctuation or orthography which shall be done, if at all, before it is given out to the compositor."

The contention of the unions in general was that reprint was one of a series of different kinds of copy, and that, since the unions did not discriminate in their scales against bad copy, all copy should be taken at the same average rate. In 1883 the president of the International complained that a "system of discrimination" between different kinds of work had been "making silent but steady inroads." The discriminations referred to were chiefly those between printed and manuscript copy. Acting on this suggestion, the International forbade any subordinate union to have "other than a uniform price for manuscript or reprint"; but at the session held two years later the New York union secured the repeal of the rule.⁶

⁶Proceedings, 1883, pp. 14, 84; *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 79.

The system of classification outlined above fell far short of bringing the prices for all kinds of matter to rates of pay proportionate to the amount of work involved. One great class of differences was disregarded entirely. The greater part of a book or newspaper ordinarily consists of "straight" matter, *i. e.*, type of uniform and ordinary size set so as not to leave blank spaces, other than those required to indicate divisions into words, sentences, and paragraphs. Part of the matter in every book or newspaper, however, consists of larger pieces of type separated perhaps by large blank spaces, such as, to take a striking case, the "display" advertisements of a newspaper or the title page of a book. Or, it may be that blank spaces are left here and there in the midst of otherwise "straight" matter. The compositor can set such matter ordinarily more rapidly than "straight" matter, but its forms are so numerous and so varied as to baffle any attempt at classification with reference to the amount of work involved.

It is conceivable that at the outset the piece rate might have been fixed expressly for "straight" matter. If this had been done, the employer would have had to pay at a time rate for the setting of other matter, since it varies so much as to be irreducible as a whole to piece rates. But a different plan was pursued. The employers paid the compositors at the same price per 1000 ems for the entire work. A partially blank page thus gave the compositor the same return as a full one, although it involved much less trouble. So the head and foot lines of a book, as well as any "display" matter which might occur, such as the title, half-title, and dedication pages, were paid for as if the space was filled with "straight" matter. It followed that the compositor in setting up some parts of every work could earn more in the same length of time

than in setting up other parts. The profitable work was known in the trade as "fat."⁷

The system of paying for the work as an entirety was a trade custom and owed its origin and continuance chiefly to the desire to reduce the whole work to a piece price. The original adoption of the lump rate was partly due also to the fact that although the compositor at that time performed several operations not directly connected with the setting of type, such as making up and imposing, he was paid entirely according to the amount of matter composed. Usually the amount of the other operations required was in direct proportion to the amount of type-setting, but sometimes this was not the case. Only a few lines of type might be set for a page, the rest of the page being blank; but the page had to be made up and imposed. If the compositor had been paid only for the actual space covered by the type, the rate of remuneration for the labor involved in setting that page would have been less than for other pages.

The unions early showed their reluctance to have any part of the "fat" taken away from the compositors and set on time. Since it had been customary for the piece workers to have the "fat" matter, and the rate had been set on that assumption, the unions maintained that any diversion of the "fat" from them was an invasion of the rate. The scales, beginning with the New York scale of 1809, set forth specifically the rights of the compositors to forms of "fat" which were in dispute. Since the unions allowed the employers to have work done either by time or piece, and since some employers had both piece and time hands, the unions provided that the employers should not pick out the "fat" matter for the time hands.

⁷"The Dictionary of Typography and its Accessory Arts," Philadelphia, 1872, gives this definition: "Fat—Advantage easily obtained. With Compositors, light open matter and short or blank pages."

Sometimes it was provided simply: "No employer shall cull the fat portions of any work."

From about 1830 the compositors in book offices gradually lost certain kinds of "fat." This was due to the gradual introduction in the book offices of a system of division of labor under which the making up and imposing were entrusted to a printer paid by time. The work of the compositor was now confined in such offices to setting type. Since he delivered the matter to the make-up men on galleys and did not divide it into pages, the employer was reluctant to allow him those forms of "fat" directly connected with the making up, *i. e.*, the head lines, the foot lines, and the blank or partially blank pages. The unions attempted to retain the "fat" by allowing the employer a definite sum for making up and imposing. The Baltimore scale of 1832, for example, provided that for all matter made up and imposed by the employer no more than 2 cents per 1000 ems should be allowed; the compositor was to retain the "counting of the head, blank, and foot lines." These efforts to hold the "make-up fat" were generally unsuccessful. Some unions were able to retain the "sinkage" at the beginning of each chapter, but the employers, in most cases, had the head and foot lines.

The other form of "fat", that appearing in the galley, such as "display" matter, was generally retained by the compositors in book offices, although even here the employers secured some concessions. The title, half-title, and dedication pages were in some cities set by time hands. Cuts and plates inserted in the type were charged for, or, in the technical phrase, "measured" as if the space they covered had been set up in type. Curious and minute distinctions were made between cuts inserted by the compositor in a page and those filling a whole

page. The clue to all these distinctions lies in the acceptance of a method of remuneration under which, in view of the difficulty of settling on prices for the many forms of "fat" matter which might occur, the compositor was paid at a lump rate.⁸

While by the development of the industry the question of "fat" matter came to be less and less important in the book offices, it increased in importance in the newspaper offices. Not only did the relative amount of space occupied by advertisements increase, but the advertisements became more and more of a "display" character. Even in the days of the Philadelphia society, almost all advertisements had carried some "display", but by 1860 the advertising "fat" was an important item in the earnings of newspaper compositors. Moreover, certain parts of the newspaper were kept standing and only slight changes made from day to day. Such for example were the stock and produce market reports. Certain classes of notices, *e. g.*, "marriages", were so much alike that the matter needed only a few changes to make it serve for another insertion. So important was the "fat" matter on newspapers that the unions usually provided that all

⁸ One form of "fat" which might easily have been classified and assigned a lower rate was leaded matter, *i. e.*, matter in which the lines of type are separated by inserted strips of metal. By leading matter, the space covered is increased at a very slight expenditure of time. If the leads are thick, a very considerable gain is made and the matter is very "fat." In 1809 the New York employers suggested in their counter proposition to the demands of the journeymen: "Scabbarded [*i. e.*, leaded] works (when the scabbards are not thinner than four to an em of the text) shall be charged two cents less than the solid matter." This was not acceded to by the society. (See Appendices 4 and 5). The New York scale of 1869 provided that matter in which leads over a certain thickness were used should be charged something less per 1000 ems. Practically all the other unions refused to make such a classification.

the composition should be done exclusively by piece hands.⁹

The assumption on which the unions acted was that the employer had engaged a number of compositors to set up his newspaper at a lump rate for the entire amount of matter contained in it. Whether they used part of the matter set up the day before in getting up the paper, or whether they were able to do some part of the work in less time per 1000 ems than if it were "straight" matter, was immaterial. The price per 1000 ems was not the price for "straight" new matter but was the price for the newspaper taken as a whole. One concession from this extreme position was perhaps always made. Advertisements marked for reinsertion were not "measured" each day. Every other point involved was sturdily fought for through many years.

The view that the compositors in an office had undertaken the setting up of the entire newspaper at a lump rate involved the principle that each compositor in an office was entitled to an equal share in the "fat." The common method of dividing the "fat" was to require that all copy as it came to the composing room should be placed on a "hook" or file, and that each compositor should take from it in order. In some offices certain kinds of "fat" were apportioned by lot. Other kinds went around the office by rotation. Whatever system was used, the essential principle always observed was that every compositor in the office was entitled to an equal share or chance.

In some newspaper offices the employers wished to assign to certain compositors all the advertisements or all the "markets." The creation of such "departments" was defended on the ground that it was necessary to have the same compositor do the work regularly if certain

⁹ *Proceedings*, 1873, p. 66; *Ibid.*, 1883, pp. 55, 82; *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 19.

kinds of matter were to be properly set. If the compositor in charge of the "department" was paid at the regular piece rate, he benefited at the expense of the other men in the office, since he appropriated "fat" which was the common property of the men in the office; on the other hand, if he worked for less, he violated the standard rate. The National Union discussed the question in 1857 and, while opposed to the creation of "departments", came to the conclusion that the subject should be left to the local unions, since a general prohibition would cause trouble in places where some such arrangement was necessary.¹⁰ In 1860 a resolution recommending "to all subordinate unions the propriety of adopting such measures as will tend to abolish departments in the various newspaper offices" was discussed. The resolution declared that in many offices a system of favoritism was practised "to a considerable extent between foreman and journey-men"; but the National Union was unwilling to go farther than it had gone three years before.¹¹

The kind of matter which the employers were most desirous of having set exclusively by one or more compositors was the "display" advertising. To have this taken from the "hook" or given round in rotation meant usually that the advertisements would be badly set. A method of meeting the desires of both the compositors and the employers was finally devised. It became the usual practice to sell at auction to the highest bidder the right to set the advertisements. The compositor who "bought the ads." was able to earn a larger sum than the average

¹⁰ Proceedings, 1857, p. 33. The resolution read as follows: "It is the opinion of the National Union that it is neither wise policy nor correct principle that anything should be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices; but this Union is of the opinion that it is to the interest of the trade, as well as to that of the employer, that as few departments should exist as practicable."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1860, pp. 26, 29.

workman, and out of this he turned over to the other workmen in the office the amount, usually a *per centum*, which he had bid.¹² By this method every compositor participated equally in the distribution of the "ad. fat", and the advertisements were set exclusively by one or more compositors. The International Union in a series of decisions held that the system was not a violation of the recommendation against "departments."¹³

There were, however, inconveniences in this arrangement, since the journeyman who bid highest was sometimes not satisfactory to the employer. The local unions began to agree with employers that the advertisements might be set by time workers. In return for this concession, an advance in the piece rate for "straight" matter, regarded as equivalent to the lost "fat", was exacted. The chief difficulty involved in making such an agreement was that the amount of "display" advertising varied so greatly in different newspapers as to make it difficult to set a price for all the offices. One publisher might be willing to give for the privilege an advance on the piece rate of 6 cents per 1000 ems, while another publisher in the same city might not be willing to give more than three cents.¹⁴

¹² The sum thus received was either spent for the general use of the compositors in buying soap, for washing towels, and sometimes in employing a man to clean the case boxes, or it was divided equally among the compositors in the office.

¹³ Proceedings, 1877, p. 22; *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 69.

¹⁴ Opposition to such an arrangement arose, also, simply from the attachment of the printers to a time-honored custom. In 1884 the president of the International advised that the subordinate unions allow advertisements to be set on time, and argued that the large piece earnings of the "ad. men" gave the employers a strong argument in resisting advances in the piece rate. The New York union, in a communication to the next session, declared that it had read "the utterance of the late president, with astonishment and indignation," and entered "its solemn protest against the adoption of any

As the "fat" steadily increased, the employers saw that the men who set certain parts of the newspaper could earn perhaps three times as much a day as those working on other parts. They began in many cases to demand that certain parts of the "fat" matter should be set on time. The result was, as a rule, an elaborate compromise by which the unions yielded to the employer a part of the "fat." Just where the division was struck depended on local conditions, the strength of the union, and the amount of "fat" of various kinds.

Two instances will illustrate the varieties of compromise effected. When the Baltimore union framed its last scale for piece composition on newspapers, it had divided the "fat" as follows: The "office was to have", *i. e.*, the employer was allowed to have set on time, the stock list and "display" advertisements, electrotyped medical advertisements, picture cuts, maps, and diagrams used in "display" advertisements, and all cuts requiring no justifying. All other cuts, "marriages and deaths", shipping news, real estate transfers, and produce market reports were to be the "property of the piece hands." The New York union in its last piece scale for newspapers declared that in "newspaper composition everything between the column rules belongs to the compositor except (a) illustrative cuts one column or over in width, (b) standing advertisements unless five lines are added, and (c) diagrams set on time." "Display" advertisements and all advertising cuts thus went to the compositor. The union permitted employers to set their advertisements on

such policy." "The correct principle of unionism," it declared, "is that there shall be no departments and that all copy shall be placed on the hook or board and not at the disposal of a few favorites." The International Union refused by a vote of sixty-six to seven to interfere with the system of selling the "fat."

time, provided they paid a higher rate for "straight" matter.

The policy of the local unions in attempting to enforce a lump rate on newspapers is open to criticism. At any given time, for a local union to have ceded the "fat" or any part of it without receiving compensation in the form of an increase in the piece rate would, of course, have been simply a lowering of the piece rate. But the unions might at favorable opportunities have directed their efforts toward the yielding of the "fat" for an adequate compensation and thus have rid themselves of a troublesome problem. On the contrary, they always showed themselves strongly averse to such arrangements. The uncertainty in the amount of remuneration under the lump rate system, perhaps, appealed to the gambling instinct. Certainly, it led to an exaggerated opinion as to the amount of "fat."

The Unit of Measurement. — A somewhat technical description of type is necessary to an understanding of the system of measurement by ems. Pieces of type, except those used for spacing, consist of a body and a face. The body is a right-angled, prism-shaped piece of metal on the end of which the face is cast in relief. It is from the face that the printed impression is made. The end of the body is larger than the face, and the ordinary blanks between the printed lines and between the letters in a word are thus produced. Larger blanks, such as those between words, are produced by the insertion of blank pieces of type, known as spaces. The bodies of the pieces of type fill up entirely a page of composition.

The dimension of the body of a piece of type across the page is known as its width, and the dimension up and down the page as its depth. In any font of type, the depth of all the pieces is the same, but the widths of the

bodies vary with the width of the letters cast on them. That of the letter *m* is the greatest and its width approximates its depth. An em in any font is the square surface each side of which is equal to the depth of the pieces. The size of the em varies according to the size of the type. An em in a font of pica, for example, is larger than an em in a font of brevier. Such variations in absolute size obviously do not affect the em as a unit for measuring the number of pieces set so long as the size of the pieces of type varies proportionately with the size of the em.

The theory that the em measures correctly the number of pieces of type set rests on two assumptions. It is taken for granted that if a compositor sets a considerable amount of matter the thin and thick bodies will average up, since the letters of the alphabet occur always in about the same proportion. It is also assumed that the combined width of all the letters in the alphabet in every font bears the same fixed relation to the depth. The first assumption is entirely justified, but the second is not, and the defect in the em as a unit of measurement arises from the fact that different fonts of type vary widely in the ratio of the widths of the bodies taken together to their depths. A concrete case may make the point clearer. If a piece of matter contains thirty lines and its width is equal to one-third of its length, it measures 300 ems, but the number of pieces of type the compositor has to set to compose the matter will be larger or smaller according to the width of the pieces. If it were set from one font, there might be on the average sixty pieces to the line, while from another of exactly the same depth there might be fifty pieces. To set 1000 ems of the former font would require one-fifth more time than to set 1000 ems of the latter. Obviously certain limits are placed by considera-

tions of legibility and appearance on the extent to which the pieces can be "thinned" or "fattened" in proportion to their depth; but these limits are wide enough to permit considerable variations.

The system of measurement by ems, in the form in which it was first used in this country, took no account of the possibilities of such variations. The early societies of printers did not discuss the subject or make any provisions concerning it in their scales, probably because the fonts then cast were more nearly uniform in the ratio of width to depth. The subject does not appear to have attracted attention from the Printers until 1837, when the Columbia society of Washington appointed a committee to investigate the "range of type in the several offices." It was found that the widths of all the lower case, *i. e.*, small, letters of the alphabet, taken together measured in different fonts from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 times the depth of the type, or, as the committee put it, $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 ems.¹⁵ A compositor working from the "leanest" font had, therefore, to set about 15 per cent more pieces of type than from the "fattest" in order to have as many ems. The society adopted a rule that all type should "measure $12\frac{1}{2}$ ems to the alphabet", or, in other words, that the combined width of the bodies of all the lower case letters in any font should equal $12\frac{1}{2}$ times the depth of the body. If the font measured less than this, the compositor was to be paid at a higher rate per thousand ems. It was soon recognized that the smaller sizes of type ran ordinarily more ems to the alphabet than the larger, and the "alphabetical standard" was graded in such a way as to take this into account.

Practically all the local unions adopted this method of

¹⁵ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 5, p. 60; MS. Minutes of Columbia Typographical Society, September-November, 1837.

dealing with the problem, and from about 1840 the scales ordinarily included "alphabetical standards"; but these varied widely from union to union. The National Union, in the hope of securing uniformity, recommended in 1858 the following standard: agate, 15 ems to the alphabet; nonpareil, 14; minion and brevier, 13; bourgeois to pica inclusive, 12.¹⁶ The difficulty in the adoption of any uniform standard lay in the fact that the different sizes of type were not standardized; different fonts of so-called brevier, for instance, were not always the same in depth. Each local union therefore preferred to adopt an "alphabetical standard" suited to local conditions. The unions differed also in their methods of charging for type falling below the standard. Some charged a rate simply proportionate to the amount of deviation from the standard, while others penalized the use of "lean" type. The latter course frequently involved friction, since an employer was usually unwilling to pay a price for "lean" type which yielded the compositor more than if it were of standard width. In 1882 the International, after a discussion protracted over some years, required the local unions to adopt the standard which had been previously recommended. They were also to charge type falling below the standard proportionately to its deviation.¹⁷

The adoption of these rules did not, however, make the em an exact measure of the work of the compositor, since only type below a certain width was standardized. No reduction in price was made if the type ran more ems to the alphabet than required. It was expressly laid down in the International rule that all fonts exceeding the standard width were "to the benefit of the compositor", and no reduction or allowance was to be made "owing to such

¹⁶ Proceedings, 1858, p. 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 40; *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 1882, pp. 76, 84.

excess." The result was that those employers who wished to use broad-faced type paid a higher rate per piece of type set than others. The difference in the cost of setting a given number of letters in type of standard width and in a broader-faced type was sometimes considerable. In 1879 Mr. Samuel Rastall, in a comparison between five offices in Chicago, showed that, with the same labor with which a compositor setting minion type of standard width could earn \$18.63 in one office, he could earn \$21.62 in another office where the font was "fatter."

It was claimed also that the "alphabetical standard" was evaded. As early as 1871 it was charged by some journeymen that the letters most frequently occurring—*a, c, d, e, i, l, m, n, o, r, s, t*, and *u*—were cast thin, and the seldom used letters, such as *x* and *z*, were cast thick. An alphabet so cast would measure the required ratio of width to depth, but the compositor would be no better off than if the type were below the standard in measure. Although the debasement of the standard in this way was not practicable to any great extent, since within any font the widths of the letters must bear a certain relation to each other or the matter will have a distorted appearance, it was occasionally resorted to.¹⁸ To prevent such evasions, in 1890 the International required that in any font the letters *a, c, d, e, i, l, m, n, o, r, s, t*, and *u* should equal in width at least one-half of the width of the whole alphabet.

The defects in the em system of measurement led to proposals for the adoption of a new unit. The most widely discussed of these plans was that proposed in 1879

¹⁸ A committee of the International reported in 1893 that representative type-founders in conference had admitted "that in the past, where a font of type fell below the standard, in certain cases it had been brought up to the standard, at the demand of the publisher ordering the font, by enlarging the letters least used, the *x*, *q*, etc."

by Mr. Samuel Rastall, secretary of the Chicago local union.¹⁹ The compositor was to take twenty-five letters, leaving out the *z* for convenience in computation. He was to take six spaces, the estimated number used in forming twenty-five letters into words. The length of these twenty-five letters and six spaces was to be the unit of measurement. Multiplied by forty, it gave a measure containing 1000 letters. This system was adopted by the International in 1881, but with the important proviso that it should be "enforced only in those localities where practicable." None of the local unions appears to have put it into effect. A similar plan was advocated in 1886 by Mr. MacKellar of the Type Founders' Association. He proposed that the width of the body of the letter *m* should be taken as a measure. This system was essentially the same as that of Mr. Rastall, except that it involved the assumption that the widths of all the other letters were in a fixed proportion to that of the *m*.

A final effort to secure a better unit of measurement was made in 1892. The National Publishers' Association held a preliminary conference on the subject in March of that year with the representatives of the Type Founders' Association and of the International. This conference favored the adoption of the MacKellar system. In order to protect the compositor against any alteration in the ratio of the width of the other letters to that of the letter *m*, the representatives of the union secured the insertion of provisions that the alphabet of any font should measure at least fifteen of its own *m*'s, and that the thirteen letters less used should equal in measurement the thirteen letters more used (*a, c, d, e, i, l, m, n, o, r, s, t, u*). The International submitted to the membership a propo-

¹⁹ A full explanation of the Rastall system of measurement was given by the inventor in the *Craftsman*, Dec. 13, 1884. The system is essentially the same as that used in all European countries.

sition authorizing the executive council to select one or more cities for a trial of the system and the proposal was carried.²⁰ By this time, however, the typesetting machine was being rapidly introduced, and the union was less concerned in the matter than it had been.

The chief reason why the union never insisted on the replacement of the defective em system by the far preferable system of measurement by letter, was that, in any adjustment of the piece rate to a more exact system of measurement, the earnings of the men in the "fat" offices would have been scaled down.²¹ Naturally there was strong opposition to such a readjustment. The differences in the amount of "fat" matter and in the "fatness" of the type made the real piece rate of the Printers differ widely in different offices in the same city. The result was a division of interest amongst the journeymen in different offices and in the two branches of the trade. Between two newspapers, a difference of 40 or 50 per cent might exist in the compensation paid for the same amount of work. The compositors working on "fat" newspapers were frequently unwilling to aid the men on the "lean" newspapers in raising the rate, since they feared that they might lose their situations.

Still more extreme was the difference between the pay received by the book and job compositors and that received by the newspaper compositors. The piece rate was nominally the same in both branches of the trade, but the book and job compositors had practically no "fat." The result was that the more enterprising and efficient compositors drifted into the newspaper offices. The book and job compositors in many cities were almost entirely unorganized. There were always keen-sighted

²⁰ Proceedings, 1892, pp. 20, 93; *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 16.

²¹ *Craftsman*, December 27, 1884; January 10, 17, 31 and February 14, 1885.

men who saw that the adoption of a better system of type measurement and the selling of the "fat" matter to the employers would have unified the interests of all journeymen printers and strengthened the union; but such a policy meant a lowering of wages for a part of the compositors, and was, therefore, successfully opposed.

Throughout the period from 1830 to 1890 there was a gradual, although slow, increase in the number of printers who worked by time. This was due to several causes. The most important was the very rapid increase, especially since the Civil War, in the amount of job work.²² A characteristic of job work, or far the greater part of it, is that the amount of "straight" matter used is relatively small compared with the amount of "display." The system of piece measurement used in the printing trade was therefore entirely unsuited to measure the amount of work done on a job. Every increase in such work has meant consequently an increase in the number of time workers. Also, when the employer "bought the advertisements", he usually paid the "ad. men" by the day or week. Finally, the division of labor noted above between the compositors and make-up men in the book and job offices involved the payment of the make-up men and "stone hands"²³ by time, since no one has ever devised a piece system for such work.

The great mass of the printers, however, until very recently, remained piece workers. No opposition to the piece system as a method of remuneration for compositors on newspapers ever developed in the union. In the book rooms, on the contrary, from about 1880 the local unions

²² Cards, circulars, bills, bill-heads, letter-heads, blank forms, posting bills, tickets, etc., are in the language of the trade "jobs."

²³ The workmen who make up and impose matte: in book and job offices are now ordinarily known as "stone hands."

in many cities attempted to secure the introduction of the time system, chiefly because the compositors in the book offices were irregularly employed. From 1885 successive sessions of the International recommended the "abolishment of piece work in book rooms where practicable." A vote of the membership in 1887 declared for the same policy,²⁴ but only a few unions were able to make any progress in that direction.

The transition to time work dates from the introduction of the linotype. In 1891, when the policy of the International with reference to the typesetting machines was definitely formulated, the local unions were advised to "adopt a weekly or time scale for the operation of machines." This recommendation, which was generally followed, was not the result of any dissatisfaction with the piece system. The machines were first introduced on newspapers, where, as has been noted, the piece system had been, on the whole, satisfactory. A time scale was considered preferable simply on account of the newness of the work and the consequent difficulty of estimating the average output to be expected.²⁵

Though payment by time is still the usual method of remuneration for the operators of typesetting and typecasting machines, an increasing number of local unions allow employers to pay by the piece if they prefer. A long and animated controversy has been carried on in the union in recent years as to the relative advantages of the two systems. The advocates of the piece system assert that slow operators can secure employment more readily under a piece scale. In opposition, it is claimed that the foremen will not employ slow men since the high fixed

²⁴ Proceedings, 1886, p. 76; *Ibid.*, 1887, pp. 75, 91, 127.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 196.

charges, due to the cost of the machine and the expense of maintenance, make it imperative that the output of each machine should be large if the cost of production is to be low. Also, it has been argued that under a time system the fast operators cut the rate, since they do not ordinarily receive a wage differential proportionate to their higher output.²⁶

The objection most strongly urged against the piece system for operators is that it leads to "rushing" and that machine work is labor of an exhausting character. A piece scale, it is claimed, impels the operators to work at a hurtfully rapid rate. Another objection, which is given prominence in all the discussions, is that the large amount accomplished by the operators working by the piece decreases the number of men employed. A writer in the official journal, for example, complained that the adoption of the piece scale in Denver had cut down the amount of employment through increasing the hourly output.²⁷

The introduction of the machine, besides replacing hand compositors by machine operators, has been effective in another way in impressing the time system upon the union. Since a machine operator can set from three to five times as much matter as a hand compositor, the auxiliary workmen,—make-up men, "stone hands", and proof readers,—are relatively more numerous, and these have always been time workers. The "ad. men", who set by hand the "display" advertisements, are paid by time, even where machine operators are paid by the piece. The net result of these changes is that probably nine-tenths of the members of the union are time workers. In the larger

²⁶ A few unions, notably those at Chicago and Denver, have devised scales for operators in newspaper offices under which a minimum time rate is fixed for all operators, and, for all matter set beyond a fixed amount, a piece "bonus" is paid by the employers.

²⁷ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 31, p. 414.

book offices some "straight" matter is still set by hand and paid for by the piece, but improvement in the machines tends constantly to lessen the amount of such matter. The piece scales, which in many cities are still printed in the books of scales, are almost obsolete. Few members of the unions are concerned in them, and to many their archaic provisions are absolutely unintelligible.

The difficulties which the Printers have encountered in the formulation of a standard rate for time workers, as has been indicated above, have been due chiefly to differences in the earning capacity of the workmen in the trade. Where the workers in a trade are so much alike, or the work they do is of such kind that under purely competitive conditions they receive the same wages per hour or day, the union in that trade experiences no difficulty in formulating a measure for labor. But printers vary greatly in earning capacity. In Baltimore, for example, some printers receive a wage as low as \$12 a week, while others receive as much as \$30, or, perhaps in a few cases, more. Such differences are automatically measured by a piece rate, but with a time rate the formulation of a scale for such workers involves difficulties.

A union desires if possible to bring the wages of every journeyman in the trade under the collective bargain. If the lowest union rate in Baltimore for printers were \$14 per week instead of \$15.40, undoubtedly some offices would employ union workmen which now do not. But if the wage were placed so low, the workmen earning sums considerably above the minimum would feel that the maintenance of such a low rate had little or no influence on their wages.²⁸ A union aims to devise such a

²⁸ The standard rate among the Printers is always a minimum and never a maximum. Any member may receive more if his employer is willing to pay him.

time scale as will not exclude a large number of workers from employment as unionists, and also will not leave the wages paid the more efficient members too far subject to individual bargaining.²⁹

Some trade unions permit certain classes of workmen to accept employment below the standard rate. By this means the standard rate can be put somewhat higher without excluding the excepted classes from the union. Until recently the local typographical unions insisted rigidly that no member should be allowed to work for less than the standard rate.³⁰ In the last few years, however, some of the local unions have begun to permit old members to work for less than the time rate.³¹ The subject was seriously considered at the session of the International in 1906, and subordinate unions were advised to establish a list of disabled members, who should be allowed to work under special conditions.³² The possibility of establishing such a list of workmen without breaking down the standard rate is due to the fact that incompetency caused by old age is a fairly recognizable criterion. Even in such cases the applicants are carefully scrutinized.

²⁹ Obviously the difficulty here pointed out affects the union's policy with reference to apprenticeship and the exclusion of incompetent workmen. If all apprentices were well taught, or if the union could force out of the trade the incompetent and less efficient workmen, the differences between the less and more efficient workmen would be decreased and the difficulty of formulating a scale lessened. See below pp. 178 and 304.

³⁰ In 1887 a resolution "recognizing the right of members of subordinate unions, feeling their inability to compete successfully with more favored workmen . . . to enter into an agreement with their employers whereby for a compensation and a limited time—to be fixed by subordinate unions, they may secure the desired proficiency" was voted down almost unanimously by the International (Proceedings, 1877, p. 66).

³¹ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1899, p. 74.

³² *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 26, p. 188; Proceedings, 1906, p. 170.

The suggestion has frequently been made that workmen might be graded into classes directly according to their earning capacity. If this could be accomplished, the scale might set forth a wage for each of these classes. The union could then bring into its membership workmen now excluded by inability to earn the minimum rate, and at the same time the union rates for the higher grades of workmen would correspond more nearly to the wages actually received. The employing printers have from time to time expressed the opinion that the rate should be graded directly according to the efficiency of the workmen. In 1887 the United Typothetae, the national association of employing book and job printers, appointed a committee to consider the subject of a "Graded Scale of Wages." After some consideration, the committee recommended that "in all places where printers' unions are in existence such unions be requested to inaugurate a system of graded scales of wages among their membership according to efficiency." In 1899 another committee, appointed to consider the same subject,³³ showed in its report a perfect apprehension of the difficulty involved. "As we understand the matter," they said, "what is called the 'scale' is supposed to represent the wage value of the poorest journeymen, the minimum wage for minimum ability; the expectation being that a better man will receive higher pay than 'scale.' In any case, it seems to us that any 'grading' must be done privately between the

³³ In his annual address, the president of the Typothetae had said: "In the coming years, when the number of really good men employed in typesetting either by hand or machine must constantly increase over the number of poor workmen,—why should the capable and energetic man, working day by day by the side of an inferior man, be contented, that each should receive the same wage? . . . The subject of grade in wages is one of vast importance to the journeymen, much greater than is usually suspected. Is it not wise for us to try to educate our employees along this line?"

two parties at interest and that it would be impossible to satisfactorily grade all workmen, except by an elaborate system of examination which would be appalling to undertake as well as unsatisfactory to most of those graded below first."³⁴ No local union has ever attempted to classify printers directly according to efficiency.

Much the same result has been obtained, however, by the Printers through classifying the workmen according to the kinds of work performed and according to the kinds of offices in which they are employed. Two kinds of offices are recognized in the scales, newspaper offices and book and job offices.³⁵ The rates for each class of employees are higher in newspaper offices than in book and job offices. Within each of these two kinds of offices the employees are classified according to the work they perform and a minimum wage assigned each class. Machine operators, for example, in both kinds of offices have a higher minimum rate than any other class of workmen. The rates for the other classes of workmen do not differ much from each other.

A typical scale consists, therefore, at the present time, essentially of four minimum rates. The highest rate is set for machine operators in newspaper offices. The machine operators in book and job offices have a lower rate. The proof readers and hand compositors in the newspaper offices usually receive less than the machine operators in the same offices.³⁶ The lowest rate of pay awarded to

³⁴ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1899, pp. 18, 73.

³⁵ Morning newspaper offices are distinguished from evening newspaper offices in the scales, but the difference in the rates is regarded as compensation for night work. Some unions insist, however, that where work is done in the day time for a morning newspaper, the night rate shall be paid. A few unions also have a separate scale for weekly newspaper offices.

³⁶ Rates are also prescribed in the scales for foremen and machine tenders. These are disregarded here, since the rate for foremen

any class is that of the hand compositors in the book and job offices. The following table gives the minimum rates in six large cities for the year 1908:

MINIMUM TIME RATES IN 1908

	EVENING NEWSPAPERS			BOOK AND JOB OFFICES		
	Oper- ators	Proof- readers	Hand com- positors	Oper- ators	Proof- readers	Hand com- positors
New York	\$28.00	\$28.00	\$28.00	\$23.00	\$21.00	\$21.00
Chicago	24.00 ¹	25.00	25.00	24.00	19.50	19.50
Philadelphia	20.00	18.00	18.00	20.00	18.00	18.00
St. Louis	23.25	23.25	23.25	24.00	18.24	18.24
Boston	25.62	25.62	25.62	20.00	18.00	18.00
Baltimore	22.50	21.00	21.00	21.00	15.40	15.40

¹A bonus is paid for all matter set above a certain amount.

The effect of this classification, which reflects differences in competitive earning capacity among the groups, is that a very large part of the members of the union receive a wage equal to or not much in excess of the minimum wage for their class. The point at which the system of classification breaks down is in the case of the hand compositors in the book and job offices. These workmen vary widely in their actual wages, although the minimum rate is the same for all. Highly skilled job men in Boston, for example, receive \$25 or \$30 a week, although the minimum rate is \$18. The \$7 or \$12 which they receive above the minimum rate is obtained by individual bargaining. The unions cannot, however, establish such a classification of hand compositors and proof readers in book and job offices as to set for the more highly paid men a higher rate. The offices are of all sizes and are hopelessly unstandardized. The possibility of making a higher rate in newspaper than in book and job offices was due to the fact that the newspaper offices are far more nearly alike in their organization than affects only a small number of workers, and the machine tenders are not usually printers. See below, p. 252.

are book and job offices. There has recently been a tendency in some local scales to make a higher rate for hand compositors and proof readers in the machine book and job offices, but it is doubtful if the machine offices are sufficiently homogeneous to make possible such a distinction.

The system of classification, outlined above, while undoubtedly increasing the effectiveness of the standard rate as a device in collective bargaining, has not been worked out as fully as it might have been because of the widespread feeling that, since the unions fix the rates and all the workmen concerned are members, the unions should make the minimum rate for all workmen the same. This feeling has been especially marked with respect to newspaper offices. In 1901 President Lynch, in his annual address, said: "It is a pleasure to note that in newspaper composing rooms there has been a more general equalization in hours and wages for all union employees. Classes are dangerous for our union movement. Proof readers, "ad. men", and floormen are equally skilled with machine operators and entitled to the same benefits and consideration by reason of union membership." Some of the larger local unions have established in newspaper offices the same minimum rate for all printers.⁸⁷

The standard rates among the Printers are entirely local, although from a very early time the local unions have felt to some extent the effect of the lower rates in other cities.⁸⁸ In the resolutions adopted in 1850 by the

⁸⁷ Note, for example, in the table on p. 138 the wage rates in New York, St. Louis, and Boston.

⁸⁸ On November 4, 1815, the New York Typographical Society appointed a committee "to confer with the different typographical societies in the United States; the duty of which committee shall be to induce (if possible) the journeymen of Philadelphia and Albany in particular to raise their prices to the same standard as ours." No answer was received from Philadelphia, but the society

first Convention of Journeymen Printers, one of the purposes in founding a national organization was declared to be "the regulation and adjustment of the different scales of prices so as not to conflict with each other."³⁹ But the local unions early showed their aversion from any interference by the National Union in wage questions. In 1853 a resolution instructing the Committee on New Business to inquire into "the practicability of establishing a minimum price for labor in our profession throughout the country" was rejected without reference to a committee.⁴⁰ The settled policy of the International Union has been to consider "scale questions" as purely local.

The pressure for national, or rather sectional, uniformity in rates has come chiefly from the employing printers in the book and job branch. Cheap and quicker transportation, better mail facilities, the increasing use of the telegraph and telephone have all contrived to make the inter-city competition keen for certain classes of book and job work.⁴¹ The result has been, in recent years, that the union rate in one city affects that in another. Even in book and job printing, however, the great mass of work done in any considerable printing center is largely concerned that the "journeymen at Albany had already raised their prices to the same standard."

³⁹ Proceedings of the National Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States, 1850, New York, pp. 6-9.

⁴⁰ Proceedings, 1853, p. 19. The call for the convention of 1836 expressly provided that the "power now possessed by the different societies to regulate prices shall not be infringed by any regulation of the convention" (*Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 363).

⁴¹ Newspapers in different cities do not compete to the same extent as do the book and job printers, although even among newspapers certain territory is competitive. The newspaper publishers in New York have complained in more than one conference that the lower wage rate in Philadelphia gives the Philadelphia newspapers an advantage in competitive districts. This contention has, however, never been strongly made.

trolled by other influences than the rate of wages. The only serious consideration hitherto given to the equalization of rates among different localities grew out of the Syracuse conference, held in 1898 between representatives of the Typothetae and the International Union. The employing book and job printers laid stress on the fact that wages were higher in the large printing centers where the unions were strong than in the small cities, and asked that in the rearrangement of rates consequent upon the introduction of the nine-hour day, which had been arranged for by the conference, attention should be given to these differences. The union agreed that it would "endeavor to equalize the scales of wages in the competitive districts."⁴²

Not much appears to have been accomplished in this direction. The union was desirous of equalizing rates by raising wages in the cities where the rates were low rather than by lowering them in the cities where they were higher.⁴³ In a letter to the chairman of the executive committee of the Typothetae, dated September 8, 1899, Secretary Bramwood of the Typographical Union stated that of the 161 local unions which had reduced the working day from ten hours to nine since the formation of the agreement, 30 had suffered a reduction in weekly wages; 7 unions had increased weekly wages, and the remainder had made no change in the rates. The Typothetae was not

⁴² Report of Conference of Committees on Shorter Workday, (Boston, 1898), p. 183.

⁴³ President Donnelly of the International Union set forth this interpretation of the agreement in his address to the session of 1899: "There is one method by which wage-scales may be equalized without fear of antagonism on the part of employers; that method is to reduce rates to the level of the cheapest towns. It is not supposed that the Typothetae will expect us to take such a ridiculous step. The proper method is the gradual increase of the wage rates in towns where low rates prevail" (Proceedings, 1899, p. 64).

satisfied with the result and at its session in 1899 adopted the following resolution: "That the Executive Committee be directed to press upon the labor unions their obligation to bring about an equalization of the scale of wages in competitive districts in accordance with the Syracuse agreement." Even among the members of the Typothetae, there was serious opposition on the part of the employers in low-wage cities to having the Typothetae endorse the efforts of the unions to raise rates in these cities.⁴⁴

The union has, within the past few years, refused to grant the use of the label, the mark of union workmanship, in towns where the minimum wage is below a certain sum. In 1902 the minimum for the use of the label was placed at \$10, and in 1907 it was increased to \$12.⁴⁵ Since the demand for the label is partly a national demand due to the campaign carried on by the International, the union felt impelled to establish a national minimum wage for all work bearing the label, but the rate is so low that it has had practically no influence in reducing the differences between localities.

⁴⁴ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1899, pp. 35, 36, 108, 109. The same difficulty has shown itself, at times in the management of the "defense fund" of the Typothetae. Some members have maintained that the fund should not be used to aid members in low-wage cities in resisting the demands of the unions for an increase.

⁴⁵ Proceedings, 1902, p. 122; *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 246.

CHAPTER IX

THE WORKING DAY

The regulation of working hours was not one of the aims of the early societies. The members were chiefly piece hands, who, when work was plentiful, were willing to work long hours. No proposal was made in any of the societies to regulate the working day of piece workers. The working day for printers employed by the week appears to have varied at the beginning of the century from ten to eleven hours. On March 12, 1803, the directors of the Philadelphia society, in revising its list of prices, considered the insertion of the following clause: "In book offices—compositors and pressmen to receive not less than \$8 per week for ten hours work per day." In the price list as finally adopted, however, the length of the day was not fixed.¹ The New York master printers, in their counter proposition to the New York society in 1809, included a provision that "eleven hours should be considered a day in a book or evening paper office;"² but the scale finally settled upon contained no regulation of working hours.³ It appears probable that both societies, although not keenly interested in the matter, wished to establish the ten-hour day as the standard working day and to require pay for overtime at the same rate per hour as for "time"; yet no definite proposal for the payment of overtime was made by either of the societies.

An examination of the printers' scales formed from

¹ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 2, p. 179.

² See Appendix 4.

³ See Appendix 5.

1830 to 1840 shows a considerable development from the early period. All of them provided that ten hours should be considered a day for printers employed on time in book and job offices. Some of the scales did not specify a rate for overtime. In such cases, it was understood, of course, that the overtime rate should be the same as the regular rate. The fullest provision is found in the scales of the New York and Baltimore associations of the period. Both charged a higher rate not only for overtime, but also for piece work done at unusual hours.⁴

No regulations concerning working hours in newspaper offices were formulated until much later. Very few time hands were employed in newspaper offices, and the conditions in that branch of the trade imposed a natural limit on the length of the working day. The regulations which gradually emerged were intended to give compensation for the discomfort involved in working at unusual hours. The Philadelphia scale of 1850, for example, contained the following clause: "If a hand shall be called to go to work after being through the regular work, \$1 shall be charged extra; and every hand employed upon a morning newspaper shall be entitled to 24 consecutive hours intermission from labor in each week, and, if called upon to work during such intermission, he shall be paid \$1 extra." Similar rules were adopted generally by the local unions.

The policy of the local unions with reference to the working day, as thus developed and as maintained for many years, may be summarized as follows: The standard

⁴ Constitution and By-Laws of the Baltimore Typographical Society, adopted 1832 (Baltimore, 1832); Constitution and By-Laws of the New York Typographical Association (New York, 1833). The provision in both scales was as follows: "When compositors in book and job offices shall be required to work after regular hours they shall be allowed twenty cents per hour, or five cents advance per thousand ems."

working day for the printers employed on time in book and job offices was ten hours, and the overtime rate was not high. The length of the day for piece workers in book and job offices was not fixed; but when they were kept in the office later than usual a slightly higher piece rate was charged for the work done "after hours." In newspaper offices, the few time workers such as make-up men and proof readers had no prescribed working day. The piece workers on newspapers were allowed to work as many hours as the employer desired; but certain regulations as to unseasonable hours were imposed. There were two purposes in the regulation of working hours outlined above. In the first place, in order to formulate a standard rate of wages for time workers the unions had to define a standard working day, and to insist on pay for overtime. Otherwise, the rate of wages, while nominally the same, would really have varied from office to office with the varying length of the working day. For establishing a standard day, it was not necessary that the overtime rate should be higher than the ordinary rate. Secondly, the unions wished to secure compensation at a higher rate for work done at unseasonable and unusual hours. The difference between the higher and the ordinary rate was regarded as a payment for the discomfort involved.

No movement for a reduction in the length of the working day appeared among the Printers until the close of the Civil War, when the growing agitation among trade unionists led the International from time to time to declare in a general way in favor of the principle. It commended the introduction of the eight-hour day in government work,⁵ and in 1869 and 1872 advised the local unions to consider the adoption of the eight-hour day

⁵ Proceedings, 1867, pp. 55, 56; *Ibid.*, 1868, pp. 34, 35.

"for their different localities, at as early a day as possible."⁶ These resolutions were largely perfunctory and had no effect upon the policy of the local unions.

The reception among the Printers of the doctrine that a reduction in the working hours will increase wages by decreasing the available supply of labor dates from the early eighties. In 1881, for the first time in the history of the International, the shortening of the working day was urged chiefly on the basis of this theory.⁷ The plan for shortening hours most favored from 1880 to 1886 was the simultaneous demand by all trade unionists for the eight-hour day. The International refused, however, in 1885, to recommend to the local unions that they should join in the proposed concerted action by all trades for the eight-hour day.⁸

Several circumstances combined to make the shorter work-day an important question at this time among the Printers. The increasing number of time workers in book and job offices gave a force to the agitation which it had never had before, since the doctrine that "shortening the hours increases the pay" finds far readier acceptance among time hands than among piece workers.⁹ The

⁶ Proceedings, 1869, p. 33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 30, 45; *Ibid.*, 1883, p. 61. An editorial in the *Craftsman* of March 12, 1887, set forth the theory in its barest form: "One thing is certain and sure and that is that the more hours a man labors, the less wages he receives per hour; the less hours he works, the better he is paid. This may seem a paradox, but a survey of those who labor in our own neighborhood will show that it is the truth."

⁸ In his address to the session of the International in 1886, the president said: "The eight-hour movement was so much embarrassed by labor disturbances at the date fixed for its inauguration that it was impossible for it to have a fair trial. I believe it will be found impracticable to legislate upon the question further than to reaffirm the faith of the craft in the principle."

⁹ The circumstances which had led to an increase in the number of time workers have been noted above, p. 131.

rapidly growing use of plate matter had caused, or was believed to have caused, a considerable amount of unemployment. The advocates of the nine-hour day argued that a reduction in hours would reduce the number of unemployed and cause such a decrease in the competition for employment that wages would be increased. The official organ of the union—*The Craftsman*—urged the shortening of hours as a duty the unions owed the unemployed.

The year 1886 marks the beginning of the effective movement among the Printers for a reduction of hours. The proposition for the shortening of the working day submitted in that year to the session of the International differed in two particulars from those hitherto considered. In the first place, the hours were to be reduced to nine and not to eight. Secondly, the demand for the reduction in working hours was to be made by the Printers acting alone and not as a part of a general movement. The union had lost faith in the efficacy of general movements to shorten immediately and greatly the working day. The executive council was instructed to request the local unions to consider "the question of a reduction of hours to nine"; and at the session of 1887 it was determined that local unions with sixty members or more should demand the nine-hour day on November 1, 1887, in all book and job offices. The local unions were also advised, but not ordered, to reduce the hours of composition on daily newspapers to six, but the real issue was in the book and job offices where the number of time workers was large. No provision was made for financing possible strikes. The International still retained from the period of the "general movement" a naïve confidence in the efficacy of fixing a date.

As the first of November approached and it became certain that the introduction of the nine-hour day would

be contested by the employers, the president of the International grew uneasy concerning the outcome, and in October called a meeting of a number of representative members at Cincinnati. Acting under the advice of this informal convention, the president released the local unions from any obligation to demand the nine-hour day. The executive council attempted to secure an agreement with the national association of employing book and job printers, known as the United Typothetae, for the gradual introduction of the nine-hour day, but was unsuccessful.¹⁰ A few local unions, notably those at Louisville, Chicago, and St. Louis, struck for the nine-hour day on November 1, but all failed to accomplish their purpose;¹¹ and the movement for the reduction of hours died out for some years.

In 1890 the International executive council, noting in some quarters a revival of interest in the shorter work-day, asked the session for instructions as to whether local unions should be financially supported in strikes for the nine-hour day, and was ordered to confer with the officers of the American Federation of Labor as to the possibility of securing aid.¹² The help of the Federation could not be obtained at the time, for the Miners had already been promised aid.¹³ Nevertheless, the agitation for a shorter working day was carried on vigorously. A committee appointed at the session in 1890 urged the local unions to "prepare for the successful carrying out of the movement in favor of shorter hours;" and a year later, on October 1, 1891, the International submitted to the membership a proposition for the introduction of the nine-

¹⁰ Proceedings, 1888, p. 12. For an account of these and later negotiations with the Typothetae, see below, pp. 335 *et seq.*

¹¹ *The Craftsman*, November and December, 1887.

¹² Proceedings, 1890, pp. 12, 144.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1891, pp. 14, 18.

hour day. Although 9340 votes were cast for the proposition and only 3556 against, President Prescott declared the proposition lost. He held that a three-fourths majority was necessary to ratify, since the adoption of the proposition would undoubtedly have involved strikes, and under the rules of the International no strike could be authorized except by a three-fourths majority.

The large amount of unemployment among printers from 1892 to 1896 greatly stimulated the movement for shorter hours. The linotype was rapidly displacing hand compositors in the newspaper offices; and the depression in business intensified the distress. Under these circumstances the shortening of the working day as a means of absorbing the unemployed appeared more than ordinarily desirable.¹⁴ With the introduction of the linotype, however, the movement which had been heretofore directed almost solely to the shortening of the day in the book and job offices assumed for a time most importance in the newspaper offices.

The introduction of the machine offered a highly favorable opportunity for the union to introduce the eight-hour day in daily newspaper offices. Allowing for time spent in distributing, the newspaper compositors had usually worked for ten hours, but the time spent in setting type had rarely exceeded seven hours. Since the machine did away with the necessity of distributing, the introduction of an eight-hour day for machine operators caused no disturbance in the organization of the office. Composition still went on for about the same length of time as formerly. Moreover, since the machines were worked on

¹⁴ The proposition submitted to the membership in 1893 contained this statement: "The surplus labor which is on the market is getting much larger year after year, thereby making a pressing demand for situations, which has a tendency to decrease the wages of our members."

a time scale, the introduction of the eight-hour day was not a reduction from an existing working day, but a part of an entirely new arrangement between the union and the publishers. It therefore caused less friction than would otherwise have been the case. Finally, and most important of all, newspaper publishers wish to have in their offices during the last few hours before the paper goes to press the largest possible force. In the composing room of a daily newspaper it is true in a peculiar sense that the usefulness of a workman is not reduced proportionately with a decrease in the length of the working day.

The reduction of hours in the newspaper offices has been chiefly brought about by the activity of the union in utilizing the situation created by the introduction of the linotype. As early as 1891, when the number of machines in use was very small, the International recommended "that the hours of labor upon machines be reduced to the lowest possible number, eight hours being the maximum."¹⁵ The local unions were able generally to follow this recommendation and to secure the eight-hour day for machine operators; but in many of the newspaper offices the other employees in the composing room—"ad. men", proof readers, and "floormen"¹⁶—still worked for nine or even ten hours. The local unions set themselves for some years the task of reducing the working hours of these employees.

The general direction and effect of the movement for the reduction in hours on daily newspapers can be best understood from a consideration of the hours worked by the various classes of employees at a date some years after the introduction of the linotype. The following

¹⁵ Proceedings, 1891, p. 196.

¹⁶ Under the term "floormen" are included bankmen, correctors of matter, proof-press operators, and make-up men.

table, compiled from the reports made by local unions to the secretary of the International, shows the length of the working week on machine-using daily newspapers, according to scales in force March 17, 1904:

Number of hours constituting a week's work.	MORNING PAPERS			EVENING PAPERS		
	Machine operators	Proof readers	"Floor- men" and "Ad. men"	Machine operators	Proof- readers	"Floor- men" and "Ad. men"
Unions reporting less than 48 hours	56	20	27	35	13	18
Unions reporting 48 hours	284	69	175	323	72	150
Unions reporting more than 48 and less than 54 hours	19	9	39	45	11	63
Unions reporting 54 hours	49	14	115	124	21	212
Unions reporting more than 54 hours	1	1	3	2	0	3

It will be noted, in the first place, that practically none of the employees worked more than nine hours. Secondly, although about 80 per cent of the local unions provided for a working week of forty-eight hours or less for machine operators and proof readers on morning papers, only about two-thirds of the unions provided for a working week of forty-eight hours or less for the same classes of workmen on evening newspapers. The greater number of unions permitting their members to work more than forty-eight hours on evening papers was due chiefly to the fact that evening newspapers are the only daily newspapers in many small cities, and in the smaller places it is more difficult to reduce the hours of work. Thirdly, the other employees in the composing rooms of both morning and evening newspapers worked in many unions somewhat longer than the machine operators. To take the most unfavorable case, considerably less than one-half of the local unions had obtained the eight-hour day

for "floormen" and "ad. men" employed on evening newspapers. These reductions were brought about piecemeal and almost entirely without resort to strikes.

The history of the shortening of the working day in the book and job branch of the trade has been quite different. The introduction of machines did not facilitate in these offices the reduction of the hours of work. A low cost of production is the essential element in the success of a book and job office; and the product of the last hour, if the quantity is the same, is worth as much to the office as the product of any other hour. The shortening of the working day in the book and job offices has consequently required a far greater amount of effort than in the newspaper offices.

Agitation for the nine-hour day was carried on constantly from 1892 to 1897. The officers of the International steadily maintained that any International demand for the shortening of hours in the book and job offices would be futile unless an adequate fund for the support of striking unions was raised in advance. The membership, although willing at almost any time to vote for the establishment of the nine-hour day on a specified date, showed itself reluctant to vote an assessment. In 1894 a proposition for assessing the members one per cent of their earnings for the accumulation of a fund "to be used for the purpose of inaugurating a shorter work-day in the book and job trade" was rejected by a vote of 5859 to 2341.¹⁷ The refusal of the membership to vote an assessment led the International in 1896 to appoint a committee, known as the shorter work-day committee, to arouse the interest of the members in the subject. This committee was given power ultimately to fix a date for the establishment of the nine-hour day. The committee

¹⁷ Proceedings, 1894, pp. 36, 37; *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 11.

hoped by an energetic campaign to secure from the membership sanction for an International assessment, and circulars of information and exhortation were sent to the officers of local unions. In November, 1897, a proposition to levy for five months an assessment of one per cent on wages was submitted to vote. The membership again showed its sturdy disinclination to taxation, and the proposition was defeated.¹⁸

A series of events which occurred at this time, however, encouraged the shorter work-day committee to continue its efforts. In December, 1897, the New York local union obtained an agreement under which the working day in book and job offices was reduced to nine and one-half hours. The employers also agreed to grant the nine-hour day whenever the International was ready to enforce it generally.¹⁹ On the first of May, 1898, the Boston Master Printers' Club reduced the hours of labor of their employees from 59 to 56.²⁰ A considerable number of other local unions obtained the nine-hour day about the same time without serious friction. The shorter work-day committee now urged each local union to raise a fund for the establishment of the nine-hour day, and in August, 1898, announced that it had fixed a date, as yet secret, for the general introduction of the shorter work-day.

The necessity of a strike was averted by the conclusion at Syracuse, N. Y., in September, 1898, of an agreement with the United Typothetae under which the fifty-seven hour week was to go into effect on November 21, 1898, and the fifty-four hour week one year later. The local unions found in most cases no difficulty, even in cities where there were no branches of the Typothetae, in en-

¹⁸ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 12, p. 101.

¹⁹ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1898, p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 23.

forcing the shorter work-day. On May 3, 1897, when the shorter work-day committee began its activities, 56 local unions, with 17 per cent of the total membership of the union, had secured the nine-hour day. Between May 7, 1897, and the conclusion of the Syracuse agreement, 39 other local unions secured a reduction in working hours. These 95 local unions had about one-half the total membership of the union. On November 21, 1898, or shortly thereafter, 139 additional local unions with 40 per cent of the membership secured the acceptance by the employers of the Syracuse agreement. Only 83 unions, with about 10 per cent of the membership, for one reason or another, were unable to secure the nine-hour day on November 21, 1898; and these were nearly all small unions. The only large unions which were unable to shorten hours on that date were those at Pittsburg and San Francisco.²¹ Within a year thereafter nearly all of the unions had obtained the nine-hour day.²² This result was secured almost entirely without resort to strikes.

The nine-hour day had hardly been well established throughout the union before discussion began as to the advisability of attempting a further reduction in the working day; and by 1902 the agitation had gone so far that the establishment of the eight-hour day in the near future had become a recognized part of the union's policy. As a preliminary to an International movement,

²¹ Proceedings, 1899, p. 120.

²² In February, 1901, the secretary of the International, in reviewing the reports from the local unions, said: "The nine-hour day is in vogue in practically all book and job offices, the exceptions being towns where existing contracts prevent the enforcement of the law, or the unions have been recently organized. So general is the observance of the shorter work-day that these exceptions are of but passing importance" (*Supplement to Typographical Journal*, Vol. 18, no. 11, p. 1).

the session held in that year ordered the local unions not to enter into contracts extending beyond October 1, 1905, unless provision was made therein for the introduction of the eight-hour day on that date.²³ A year later, in 1903, the session instructed the local unions to make an effort, on January 1, 1905, to obtain the eight-hour day.²⁴ After an unsuccessful attempt to secure an agreement with the United Typothetae for the introduction of the eight-hour day, the session of the International held in 1904 submitted to the membership a proposition that the eight-hour day should "become effective in all union establishments on January 1, 1906." For the support of strikes, an assessment was to be levied in advance upon the wages of the members.

Grave doubts as to the passage of the proposition were entertained. In the period from 1891 to 1897 the membership had on three occasions refused to vote similar assessments for the nine-hour movement. It was feared, particularly, that the members already working an eight-hour day—over one-half of all—would vote against the assessment. Far the greater part of these were in the newspaper branch of the trade, and had no fear that the failure of the eight-hour in the book and job offices would endanger their own short work-day. The unions which had already secured the eight-hour day in the book and job offices, about one-sixth of the total number, were urged to vote for the assessment on the ground that they would be unable to maintain their position unless the eight-hour day was established generally.²⁵ The

²³ Proceedings, 1902, p. 145.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 171. The only unions of any considerable size which had been successful in securing the eight-hour day for all their members were in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States.

²⁵ While the vote was pending, El Paso union, which had maintained the eight-hour day for some time, became involved in a strike

fears of its advocates were proved by the result to have been groundless, and the proposition was carried by an overwhelming majority. The unions which already had the eight-hour day gave heavy majorities in favor of the proposition; and there was no indication in the returns that the members employed on newspapers were less favorable to the plan than those in the book and job offices. The vote showed clearly an increasing solidarity of feeling within the union as well as a growing belief in the possibility of shortening the working day by a well financed International movement.

The proposed introduction of the eight-hour day, while affecting only slightly the newspaper branch of the trade, involved a change in the hours of labor in almost all book and job offices. According to the returns made to the union officials on November 17, 1904, in only 79 local unions were all the members working an eight-hour day. These were chiefly German-American and Western unions. In all the great printing centers of the country the nine-hour day remained the established working day in the book and job offices. According to an estimate issued in 1904 by the Typothetae, the local unions which had already obtained the eight-hour day in the book and job branch had a membership of only about one-ninth of the total membership of the union.²⁰

The officials of the International began immediately to prepare for the struggle now imminent. The American Federation of Labor at its session held in San Francisco in November, 1904, instructed its officials to levy an assessment if necessary in aid of the Printers; and on January 1, 1905, the officers of the local unions began the against the demand of the employers for a return to the nine-hour day (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 25, p. 406).

²⁰ *Official Circular*, No. 9, September, 1904, United Typothetae of America.

collection of the assessment already ordered by the International. Fruitless attempts were again made to secure an agreement with the Typothetae. In September, 1905, strikes occurred in several printing offices in Chicago; and the local unions throughout the country that were not bound by contract were instructed by the International officers to demand immediately from the employers signed agreements to grant the eight-hour day on January 1, 1906. The strike that followed was the only strike involving at the same time local unions in all parts of its jurisdiction in which the International has been engaged.²⁷

The strike established the eight-hour day in all union printing offices, but the union lost control of a large number of offices. In the fiscal year 1904-1905 the average paying membership was 46,734; in the year 1906-1907 it was 42,357. In a time of great industrial activity the union thus lost in two years over 4000 members. A considerable part of this loss was due to the surrender of charters by the smaller unions. From May 31, 1905, to May 31, 1907, 200 local unions with 2153 members gave up their charters or were suspended for non-payment of dues. Many of the large printing offices in the larger cities became non-union. In most of these offices, however, the eight-hour day has since been introduced.

The distinctive characteristic of regulations aimed at reducing the length of the working day, as against those which aim merely at fixing a standard working day, is the requirement in the former case of a considerably higher rate for overtime than for "time." The ordinary rate for overtime among the Printers is one and

²⁷ See for an estimate of the cost, p. 80.

one-half times the ordinary rate, but the International has never prescribed an overtime rate. A local union may, therefore, evade the real purpose of the eight-hour rule by allowing overtime to be worked at the same rate as "time." During the negotiations for the eight-hour day some unions took this course. Thus the Vicksburg (Miss.) union signed in December, 1905, an agreement which provided for the eight-hour day in book and job offices. The union secured the same rate of pay for the forty-eight hour week that it had received for the fifty-four hour week²⁸ and permitted the employers to work one hour of overtime daily at the regular rate. The St. Louis local union, at the introduction of the eight-hour day, charged an advance of less than one-tenth for the first hour of overtime.²⁹ Such slight overtime rates are, of course, no guarantee of a shorter working day; and as the eight-hour day has been more fully established, the local unions have increased their overtime rates.

On account of trade conditions, it is impossible in many printing offices, particularly the smaller ones, to get rid entirely of overtime work. The customers of the offices expect to have work executed within short periods, and the fluctuations in the amount of work are very great. In order to accommodate customers, printing offices which make a specialty of job work ordinarily wish to keep their workmen at hand while other business establishments are open. Partly because of this relation of the work of the printing office to business in general, and partly because of the desire of workmen to arrange their hours in such a way as to secure a half-holiday on Saturdays, the International has never required a nine-hour or eight-hour working day, but has always put its

²⁸ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1906, p. 7.

²⁹ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 30, p. 271.

regulations of working hours in the form of a weekly limitation. Thus, the so-called nine-hour rule was a restriction of working hours to fifty-four a week; and the eight-hour rule reads: "Not more than forty-eight hours shall constitute a week's work." The greater part of the book and job offices work nine hours each day except Saturday and on Saturday four hours.³⁰ The aim of the union is to reduce the hours worked and not to get extra pay. A primary purpose in shortening the working hours is "to give employment to a greater number of men",³¹ and the union is consequently opposed to overtime work. Although it cannot abolish such work entirely, it aims to make overtime as undesirable to employers as trade conditions will permit.

³⁰ An employer is not allowed, however, to vary the number of hours from day to day. If his schedule is arranged so that eight and three-quarters hours are worked on other days than Saturday, and he keeps his force nine and one-half hours on one of these days, he must pay the men in addition to their regular wages a sum charged at the overtime rate, and he cannot average up the working time by cutting off three-quarters of an hour on some other day of the week.

³¹ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 29, p. 613. This aim is clearly exemplified in the rules requiring the distribution of overtime. See below, pp. 221-224.

CHAPTER X

APPRENTICESHIP

Most of the questions that have engaged the attention of the Printers have excited keen interest for only a brief time; for, after a period of discussion, a more or less satisfactory policy has been determined upon. The regulation of apprenticeship, on the contrary, has been of constant interest to the craft from the organization of the Philadelphia society in 1802 to the present time. This has been chiefly due to the shifting character of the problem.

When the early organizations of journeymen printers were formed, the system of indentured apprenticeship was essentially unimpaired. The early societies were in favor of the maintenance of that system, and their apprenticeship policy was directed entirely to that end. They were therefore strongly opposed to the employment of runaway apprentices, or of grown men who had not gone through an apprenticeship. The important difficulty was with runaway apprentices,¹ and the printers were perhaps

¹ Entirely untrained workmen could not be employed profitably in printing offices except as pressmen. Two men worked at the press, and one of these need not be a skilled workman. In the "Circular Concerning Half-way Journeymen", issued by the New York society on July 13, 1811, it was said: "We would also beg leave to call your attention to a practice as illiberal and unjust as the former and attended perhaps with evils of a more aggravating nature. We mean that of taking full grown men (foreigners) as apprentices to some twelve or fifteen months when they are to be *turned* into the situations of men who are masters of their business, which men are to be *turned out* of their places by miserable botches, because they will work *for what they can get*." The societies both in New York and Philadelphia were constantly exercised over the intrusion of such persons.

more concerned with this evasion of the apprenticeship system than the workmen in any of the other skilled trades. One part of the printing trade—the setting of “straight” matter by hand—is easily acquired, and until the introduction of the linotype a very large part of the work of printers was of this kind. There were two consequences. Masters were tempted to take on boys in numbers far more than sufficient to recruit the trade, and many of these boys, as soon as they became proficient in setting “straight” matter, ran away to seek employment as wage earners.

The problem which the Printers thus faced presented itself, therefore, under two aspects,—the excessive number of learners and the direct competition of runaway apprentices. The early societies never considered seriously the possibility of striking directly at the difficulty by restricting the number of apprentices.² The maintenance of the apprenticeship system was a policy more in accord with the spirit of the times; and, if it could have been enforced, it might about as effectually have reached the same end. If a master's apprentice left him, he took another. If apprentices could have been forced to remain with their masters for the whole period of apprenticeship, as according to their indentures they were bound to do, the flow into the trade would have been materially checked. Moreover, the depressing influence on wages

² On June 28, 1803, a letter from the Baltimore Typographical Society was read to the Philadelphia society, “requesting a concurrence in a resolution adopted by said society for drafting an Address to Parents and Guardians to prevent their placing so many boys as apprentices to the printing business.” The directors of the Philadelphia society decided that it would be “improper to give their assent or approbation” to such a resolution. On March 30, 1816, a committee of vigilance appointed by the New York society “was ordered to draft a pathetic address on the state of the business in which they shall persuade guardians and parents not to put their children to it.”

exerted by the runaways, forced as they were by circumstances to work below the ordinary rate, would have been removed.

In both the New York and Philadelphia societies, the subject was frequently discussed. On May 16, 1807, a committee of the Philadelphia society, appointed to "inquire into the present state of the art and into the nature of some irregular practices", reported that the prevailing low prices for work were due partly to "the immense number of printing shops about the town, the proprietors of which, having generally a swarm of boys, will for the sake of keeping them employed engage themselves to do work for almost one-third less than what is now paid by booksellers and publishers." The New York society on October 26, 1810, appointed a committee to inquire "respecting apprentices and half-way journeymen." This committee reported that there was a considerable number of persons "working at the printing business in the capacity of journeymen" but "not considered as such by this society." In all cases, these "half-way journeymen" were receiving less than the society rate. The directors of the society appointed a committee to draw up a "circular letter to the master printers respecting half-way journeymen."³ For some reason the board rescinded its action at its next meeting; but on June 15, 1811, another committee was appointed to "draft a circular to the master printers on the subject of such persons as are generally denominated half-way journeymen."

The address set forth in vigorous terms the objections of the journeymen to the employment for wages of persons who had not finished their terms of apprenticeship: "The practice of employing what is termed half-way

³ MS. Minutes of the New York Typographical Society, December 22, 1810.

journeymen in preference to those who have served their time, while it holds out encouragement to boys to elope from their masters as soon as they acquire a sufficient knowledge of the art to be enabled to earn their bread, is a great grievance to journeymen and almost certain ruin to the boys themselves . . . It is an incontrovertible fact that nearly one-half who learn the trade are obliged to relinquish it and follow some other calling for support. Under the direct influence of these unwarranted practices, the professors of the noblest art with which this earth is blest have become *birds of passage* seeking a livelihood from Georgia to Maine." Although both societies thus deplored any evasion of the apprenticeship system, neither developed any effective method of preventing infringements.⁴

The apprenticeship policy of the societies organized from 1830 to 1835 was identical with that of their predecessors; but the later societies devised a workable method of enforcement. By 1839 the plan of refusing to work with "two-thirders"—as "half-way journeymen" were now called⁵—had been generally adopted. In

⁴ See below, p. 283. A committee, appointed by the board of directors of the New York society to "propose a method to discourage the practice of master-printers employing what are termed half-way journeymen to the great detriment of the profession", after deploring in its report the fact that employers engaged "half-way journeymen or rather boys", added: "We, however, presume that nothing premature in this case especially will be done and that it will be laid over for consideration of the proposed committee of vigilance."

⁵ The term "two-thirder" is first used in the official publications of the unions in the "Introductory Remarks" to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Typographical Association of New York (New York, 1833), where it is said: "Another cause of depression was the practice, which then prevailed and has continued more or less to the present time, of employing runaway or dismissed apprentices for a small compensation. These were called two-thirds men and have always proved a great pest to the profession." Such half-taught

a letter written in that year to a correspondent in Mississippi, the secretary of the Columbia society said: "In Philadelphia, men are not considered rats if they get the prices exacted by the tariff although at work in the same shop where the two-thirds abound."⁶

In 1834-1836 the apprenticeship question was brought into prominence among the Printers by the controversy between General Duff Green and the Columbia society. General Green was at the time the owner of several publications as well as printer to the United States Senate, and conceived the idea of founding a school for training journeymen printers. Assuming the expense of supporting a boy to be \$4 per week, General Green calculated that the profit on each boy would be \$2 per week for the first two years and above that for the remainder of the term. This profit was to be applied partly to paying teachers and partly to giving the boys a sum of money when of age. General Green was already publishing the *United States Telegraph*, the *Metropolitan*, and the *Medical Register*, and he proposed with the aid of his students to issue also journals of law, of religion, of agriculture, and of mechanic arts. A hundred and fifty boys were thus to be employed.⁷

The announcement of this plan, chimerical as it was, stirred the Columbia society to activity. A correspondence was entered into with General Green, who denied that the society had any right to regulate the number of apprentices he might take. The committee in charge of the correspondence, on its part, denied that they proposed any such regulation, but maintained that the society had apprentices were customarily paid two-thirds of regular journeyman's wage; hence, the term.

⁶ Letter book of the Columbia Typographical Society [MS.].

⁷ The prospectus is reprinted in the *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 284.

an interest in preventing the consummation of his plan.⁸ The society printed and circulated a protest against the establishment of the institute. An extensive correspondence was carried on with the other typographical societies, and a public meeting of the printers of Washington, irrespective of membership in the society, was held. The plan for an institute was finally abandoned.

During this controversy, the advisability of establishing some limitation on the number of apprentices came, apparently, for the first time under discussion. At the very outbreak of the trouble, a member of the Columbia society proposed the following resolution: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this society that the practice which has lately come into vogue of employing an undue number of apprentices is destructive of the rights and interests of journeymen and detrimental to the employing printers."⁹ The society was unwilling, however, to adopt a rule limiting the number of apprentices. At the mass meeting of printers held in August, 1834, the Columbia society was urged "to regulate the number of apprentices to be taken to the printing business in the several offices in the District of Columbia."¹⁰ A committee appointed at the November, 1834, meeting of the society to consider the subject reported against such a course.¹¹ They said: "A

⁸ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 5, p. 285; MS. Minutes of the Columbia Typographical Society. The chief argument of the committee was a claim of proprietary right in the trade. They said: "We are a body of printers—journeymen printers. Having served years to obtain a knowledge of the business, we now pursue that business to obtain a livelihood. It is a thing of property or—which answers the main purposes of property—it yields us a support for ourselves and our families."

⁹ MS. Minutes of the Columbia Typographical Society; *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 283.

¹⁰ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 325.

¹¹ In the "Protest" issued in August, 1834, great stress was laid on the fact that the society had never attempted to enforce any trade

mode directly limiting the *number* of apprentices in our printing office was thought to be on examination so liable to injustice and abuse between the larger and smaller offices—so difficult in its maintenance, on account of the anticipated objections on the part of employers—so embarrassing in its adjustment, on account of the constant fluctuations of the business—that the committee unanimously determined to abandon it.”

The committee recommended, in preference, a plan which Mr. Peter Force, a large employer, had suggested. This plan, which was adopted, provided that all apprentices should be bound to their employers and should serve until twenty-one years of age; that apprentices should not be more than fifteen years old at the time of entering upon their apprenticeship; that no runaway apprentice should be received in any printing office; and, finally, that after a certain date no journeyman should be employed who could not produce evidence that he had served an apprenticeship according to the “regulations laid down for apprentices in the city or place in which he may have served his time.”¹² The regulations thus adopted were an advance in that the employers at any rate tacitly accepted them; but they represented no new departure in policy. The Columbia society in 1834 was as firmly of the opinion as the New York society had been in 1811 that the interest of the trade would be best served by maintaining unimpaired the system of legal apprenticeship.

The National Typographical Convention of 1836, called as one of the results of the struggle with General regulation except that its members should not work below the scale (MS. Minutes of the Columbia Typographical Society; *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 285).

¹² See Appendix 6, “Apprentices to the Printing Business” (Washington, D. C., 1835).

Green, naturally gave considerable attention to the apprenticeship question. The regulations then in force in Washington were adopted as National rules. They were to be binding, however, only on such local societies as adopted them.¹⁸ It was hoped to secure the adoption of identical regulations by all the local societies and thus to prevent the movement of apprentices from one city to another. The Columbia society made the National apprenticeship regulations a part of its constitution, but, as far as can be gathered from their constitutions, none of the other societies gave the slightest attention to the directions of the National Society. Even in Washington, after a little while, the apprenticeship rules were by no means strictly enforced, for a committee of the Columbia society found in 1842 that, of the apprentices taken since the adoption of the regulations, in only three cases had the rules been complied with.

The plan of limiting the number of apprentices must have been much discussed during this period; but, as far as can be ascertained, it was not adopted by any of the societies until 1847, when the Baltimore society adopted a rule limiting the number of apprentices in the ratio of one apprentice to three journeymen. At the Convention of Journeymen Printers held in 1850, a Baltimore delegate urged the desirability of "recommending to the trade throughout the country the principle now in successful operation in Baltimore city." A delegate, in opposing the motion, declared that he was "not opposed to the principle but to the expediency of its being publicly proclaimed by a national convention. That was the only question before the convention. All agreed as to its utility and justice; the only question was as to its expedi-

¹⁸ Proceedings of the National Typographical Convention, Washington, 1836.

ency." The convention finally agreed to recommend to the various unions throughout the country that they limit the number of apprentices.¹⁴ At the Second National Convention, in 1851, a determined minority pressed for a declaration that the limitation of the number of apprentices was of the highest importance; but the majority decided that it was inexpedient at that time to take further action.¹⁵ The local unions, however, generally adopted rules limiting the number of apprentices.

In adopting the policy of limitation, the unions did not abandon their old design of excluding "two-thirders" from the trade. They were as solicitous as before that an apprentice should remain with his master until the completion of his term of service. But this method of dealing with the problem was proving constantly more unworkable. As long as apprentices were bound, it was easy to distinguish an apprentice from a "half-way journeyman"; but with the breaking down of the custom of indenturing, a master might take on any number of "two-thirders" and assert that they were apprentices. The "two-thirder" affected seriously the enforcement of the standard rate, for men were frequently rated as "two-thirders" after they had been at the trade many years. These changes were responsible for the introduction of the policy of limitation, which since about 1860 has been the one part of the union's apprenticeship policy that has

¹⁴ Proceedings of the National Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States (Philadelphia, 1851), pp. 10-11. In the address to the printers of the United States issued by the convention, one of the recommendations made to the local unions was: "The enforcement of the principle of limiting the number of apprentices, by which measure a too rapid increase in the number of workmen, too little care in the selection of boys for the business, and the employment of herds of half-men at half wages to the detriment of good workmen, will be effectually prevented."

¹⁵ Proceedings of the Second National Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States (New York, 1851), pp. 13-15.

never varied. In 1862 the National Union "enjoined upon each union to make regulations limiting the number of apprentices to be employed in each office to one for such number of journeymen as may seem just."¹⁶ The rule appears in identical words in the "general laws" of 1908.

Although the union has for fifty years been consistently of the opinion that the limitation of the number of apprentices is a proper and wise policy, the International has always refused to recommend to the local unions that they should adopt any particular ratio of apprentices to journeymen.¹⁷ The result is that the forms of limitation enforced by the local unions are bewildering in their variety. Certain general characteristics can, however, be noted:

(a) The ratio in about three-fourths of the local unions is one to five.¹⁸ The limitation was not originally so severe, being usually one to three or one to four; but during the twenty years following the Civil War, the ratio of one to five appears to have become general. The rules in the larger cities are usually more restrictive than in the smaller places. Thus the ratio in Chicago is one to six, and in New York, one to eight. The highest ratio in 1907, found in a few small towns, was one to three.

(b) The ratio is not ordinarily uniform for all the offices in each city, but is modified so as to allow small offices to have a greater proportion of apprentices to journeymen than large ones. This is accomplished in two ways. Either the offices which employ less than a speci-

¹⁶ Proceedings, 1862, p. 23.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 43; *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 30.

¹⁸ The typographical unions have never recognized the right of an employer or journeyman to teach his son the trade in addition to the number of apprentices allowed to the office. The ratio includes all apprentices (President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 47, p. 188).

fied number of journeymen are explicitly allowed a larger ratio, or a maximum is placed on the number of apprentices which any office may have. The former of these modifications is found in practically all the unions;¹⁹ whereas the second is less general, but obtains in nearly all the larger cities. A few unions carry the policy of favoring small offices so far as to disregard entirely the number of workmen and allow every office the same number of apprentices. Thus the Baltimore union has, for many years, provided that every book and job office, irrespective of the number of journeymen employed, shall be entitled to have four apprentices. This form of limitation was much more frequent formerly than at present, and many of the older constitutions contain similar rules. The Mobile union, for instance, in 1879 allowed each job office two apprentices and each newspaper office one.

(c) In the larger cities there has been for many years a strong movement to do away entirely with apprentices in newspaper offices. As early as 1839 the New Orleans society forbade the employment of apprentices in morning newspaper offices. The National Convention of 1850 declared in favor of the same policy. In 1886 the International Union prohibited the subordinate unions from recognizing after January 1, 1887, apprentices on morning newspapers unless indentured. The ground for this action was stated to be that the compositors on morning newspapers, since they were piece workers, could not be expected to instruct apprentices. The rule was entirely neglected by the local unions,²⁰ and in 1894 a similar rule was enacted and January 1, 1895, was set as the date for its enforcement.²¹ The new rule had no more

¹⁹ For example, one apprentice is usually allowed every office no matter how small.

²⁰ Proceedings, 1886, p. 74; *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 21.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 34.

effect than its predecessor and was somewhat later repealed. In only a few cities, notably New Orleans and Philadelphia, are apprentices prohibited in daily newspaper offices; but in nearly all the larger cities the number is limited far below that allowed in book and job offices employing the same number of journeymen. The St. Louis rule of 1904 is fairly typical: one apprentice is allowed in newspaper offices for each ten journeymen, and no newspaper office can have more than four apprentices, yet the ratio in book and job offices is one to five. In Denver a newspaper is allowed one apprentice for five or less journeymen, but no newspaper may have more than two apprentices. The Baltimore union, which, as has been noted, permits every book and job office four apprentices, allows one apprentice to each daily newspaper employing fifteen journeymen or fewer, and one for each additional fifteen journeymen, exclusive of foremen and proof readers.

The almost entire freedom of the small union offices to take on apprentices, and the vast number of offices in unorganized towns with as many apprentices as they see fit to take on, make the union's rules almost worthless as a means of lessening the number of persons entering the trade.²² The chief effect of the rules arises from the differences in the ratios among different classes of offices. In discriminating between large and small offices, the unions have very largely followed the lines of least resistance. The large offices, or most of them, cannot

²² A very considerable element in the union believes that the rules do limit the number of journeymen and thus raise wages. The writer of an article in a recent number of the *Typographical Journal* says: "Then again, from the stand-point of self-preservation, the law of supply and demand must regulate the apprenticeship question, for if more than enough journeymen to supply the demand are turned out year after year, what is to become of the men who teach them their business" (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 25, p. 130).

profitably use many apprentices, and have not resisted so strongly the union's efforts to limit their number. Nevertheless, the discrimination in the union's ratio undoubtedly has a considerable effect in determining from what offices the journeymen shall be chiefly recruited, and it is partly as a result of these rules that the great mass of apprentices are learning the trade in non-union offices and in union offices that employ less than five printers. The union offices that employ from five to thirty workmen train only a small number of journeymen, and the great newspaper offices, scarcely any.

The wisdom of these rules turns on the question as to whether, from the viewpoint of the union, the small office in the city, the non-union office, and the country office are the best places from which to recruit the trade. The newspaper offices are for various reasons the stronghold of the union. From one-half to two-thirds of the membership are engaged in establishments in which the number of apprentices is ludicrously out of proportion to the needs of the trade. The constant replenishing of the large office from the small office or the non-union office means that the union must be incessantly engaged in training into the principles of unionism successive bands of recruits.²³

But another aspect of the question has always presented itself forcibly to the Printers. The larger the office, the greater is the specialization; and where work is highly subdivided, apprentices ordinarily receive instruction in only part of the trade. The introduction of machines has greatly intensified the opposition of the Printers to the employment of apprentices in large offices and especially

²³ Mr. and Mrs. Webb have criticized on this ground the policy of the English typographical unions, which is practically identical with that of the American unions (Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "Industrial Democracy," p. 467).

in newspaper offices. President Lynch, in his address to the session of the International in 1900, said: "Another printer factory abomination at the present time is the machine office. What opportunity is there to teach a boy the trade in one of those hives of concentrated hurry and rush . . . I repeat, the machine office is no place for an apprentice."²⁴ In accordance with this suggestion, the committee on apprentices recommended the enactment of an International rule forbidding machine newspaper offices to have more than one apprentice. The convention, however, rejected the suggestion; and the local unions still have full power to fix the number of apprentices.

Although the union since 1850 has depended for the regulation of apprenticeship on the limitation of the number of apprentices, it has always shown a strong liking for the old system of indenturing or binding the apprentice. The first session of the National Union requested employers to have their apprentices indentured for not less than five years, and in 1869 the National Union recommended the "introduction and enforcement as far as may be practicable of the indentured apprentice system."²⁵ This recommendation had little or no effect, and indentures became steadily more infrequent. It was occasionally suggested that by alliances with other unions legislation might be secured requiring employers to indenture all learners.²⁶ One of the results hoped for from

²⁴ Proceedings, 1901, pp. 11, 150, 155.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 32; *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 1, pp. 97, 116. Since 1882 the following recommendation has been contained in the International rules: "The indenturing of apprentices is considered the best means calculated to give that efficiency which printers should possess, and also to give the necessary guarantee to employers that some return will be made them for a proper effort to turn out competent workmen. Subordinate unions should, therefore, whenever practicable, endeavor to introduce the system of indenturing apprentices."

²⁶ Proceedings, 1877, p. 12.

the organization of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions in 1881 was the enactment of such laws by the state legislatures;²⁷ but the Printers gradually came to realize that a system of legally compulsory apprenticeship was not in accord with the spirit of the times. The Typothetae is entirely in agreement with the union in favoring the indenturing of apprentices. At its first convention, held in 1887, a five-year indentured term of apprenticeship was recommended.²⁸ In 1894 an elaborate committee report presented a form of indenture and recommended its use.²⁹

The great merit claimed for the indenture is that it retains the boy in the same office during the whole period of his apprenticeship. The employer being certain that the boy will remain for a fixed period can better afford to see that he is well trained, since the profit on his work during the last part of his term will repay for foregoing some profit during the earlier part. On the other hand, when the boys are hired week by week, the employer can only keep his boys by paying them a relatively high rate of wages; and this he can afford to do only by assigning them to tasks quickly learned and keeping them steadily at such kinds of the work.³⁰ Despite the approval of the indenture system by both union and employers, no signs of its revival in printing offices are apparent. A small number of the best printing firms continue the use of the indenture, but the mass of employing printers have abandoned it.

The local unions always define in their rules the length of the period of apprenticeship. The requirement of a specified term has not been important among the Print-

²⁷ Proceedings, 1882, p. 15; *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 6, p. 302.

²⁸ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1887, p. 30.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 32.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1894, pp. 32-83.

ers from the standpoint of the training of the apprentice, for only a few of the local unions have required apprentices to remain with the same employer throughout their terms.³¹ The length of the prescribed term has, however, an important bearing both on the limitation of the number of apprentices and on the enforcement of the standard rate. If an employer, for example, is allowed three apprentices, and the term is four years, in twenty years fifteen journeymen are turned out; but if the term is five years, only twelve. Some unionists have always argued for an increase in the length of the term in order to decrease the number entering the trade.³² On the other hand, ordinarily intelligent boys are able in four years to master the trade sufficiently to earn journeyman's pay. The result of making the term long is to make it possible for the apprentices to cut the rate in their last year, since the pay of apprentices is not governed by the rules of the union.³³ The conflict between these considerations has caused some vacillation in the union's policy, and the International has sometimes recommended four years and at other times five years as the proper length of the term.³⁴ The local unions ordinarily fix the term at four years.

The character of the instruction received by appren-

³¹ Since 1907, however, the International has forbidden apprentices to leave one office and enter another without the written consent of the first employer and the president of the local union (Proceedings, 1907, p. 248).

³² President McVicar, for example, in 1877 argued for a five-year term on the ground that it "would cut off at least 20 per cent of the increasing surplus of printers" (Proceedings, 1877, p. 13).

³³ If an apprentice has been working for more than the stipulated period, the local union requires that he shall either join the union and receive the standard rate or shall be discharged. If it appears that he is incompetent, the union frequently grants him an extension of time.

³⁴ Proceedings, 1878, p. 34; *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 73.

tices has not until recently been regulated by the union. In the last few years, however, since the development of extreme specialization in machine offices, many of the local unions, as well as the International, have enacted rules designed primarily to prevent the employment of apprentices exclusively at one part of the trade. In 1902 the session of the International recommended that subordinate unions should "make every effort possible to secure the proper training and instruction of apprentices"; and a year later the local unions were ordered to pass "laws defining the grade and classes of work apprentices must be taught from year to year."³⁵ In 1903 the International president proposed to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association that it should enter into an agreement concerning the training of apprentices with the International Union.³⁶ The chief provision of the proposed agreement was that apprentices should not be "confined exclusively to proving galleys, distribution, or any other work requiring comparatively little skill, for an undue length of time." They were to be allowed to assist journeymen on all classes of work as far as practicable, but not to operate typesetting machines until the last three months of their apprenticeship. No agreement having been concluded, in 1905 the International enacted rules requiring that apprentices in newspaper and magazine offices where typesetting and typecasting machines are in use must be employed during the last two years of their apprenticeship "on the case and at all the intricate handiwork of the craft."³⁷ Both the International and the local rules governing the instruction of apprentices are difficult to enforce on account of their necessarily

³⁵ Proceedings, 1902, p. 130; *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 136.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 7; *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 214; *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 156.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 211.

vague character.³⁸ The unions do, on occasion, protest to an employer that a boy is not being properly taught the trade; but they cannot, in the nature of things, enforce a curriculum for apprentices.

Despite the difficulties in the way, the union is likely to concern itself more and more in the future with the proper instruction of the apprentice. The mere number of apprentices can hardly be again a subject of serious concern to the Printers. The real cause of the multitude of apprentices in the compositor's trade was, as has been pointed out, that the greater part of the work of the trade—"straight" composition—could be performed with fair speed by boys and girls after a very short period of training. The increase in the number of large daily newspaper offices afforded the first relief in the situation. These offices, since they had relatively few apprentices, gave employment to many printers trained in the other offices. The introduction of typesetting machines has had an even greater influence. Introduced, first, in the large newspaper offices, where there were few apprentices, the machines are now used in many offices where formerly boys were employed in numbers as hand compositors on "straight" matter. In such offices the machine, manned by a journeyman, is gradually replacing boy labor.

This change in the situation is reflected in the official reports of the International officers. For many years, these reports consistently bewailed the large number of learners entering the trade. In 1878, for example, the president of the Union said: "The labor market can

³⁸ One of the local rules, quoted with approval by the president of the International, is as follows: "In order that apprentices may become efficient . . . apprentices must be allowed to help the journeyman on all classes of work where practical" (Proceedings, 1902, p. 16).

be quite easily supplied for the next fifteen or twenty years from towns and villages without one apprentice being turned out as a journeyman from any of the cities on the continent of America."³⁹ In 1881 the president said: "Boy labor, being its proper definition, has in so many instances ruined promising union offices, it is utterly impossible for union proprietors to compete with those in the trade who base their contract prices solely on juvenile labor."⁴⁰ Since 1890 the International officers have rarely complained that the number of apprentices is large. Certain local unions imbued with the idea that the restriction of the number of apprentices in union offices will increase the price for labor, still press at times for stronger limitations; but, in the main, the real problem is felt to be the securing of the proper training of the apprentice.

The interest of the union in securing a good training for apprentices is not merely a matter of sentiment; it has a direct connection with the union's most important trade regulation. As has been pointed out in a preceding chapter, a prime difficulty among the Printers in the use of the minimum rate as a bargaining device for time workers lies in the widely varying capacities of the workmen. If a considerable proportion of those in the trade are so poorly taught that they can only be employed at low wages, either the union must lower its minimum rate so as to make it possible for them to secure employment as unionists, or it must be content to see them become non-unionists. The half-taught journeyman, if in the union, is thus a drag on the minimum rate, and if out of the union, he menaces the maintenance of the rate.⁴¹

The difficulties in securing the proper training of ap-

³⁹ Proceedings, 1878, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 9.

⁴¹ In 1902 President Lynch said: "No trade the standard of qualification of which is low can hope to maintain fair wage standards.

prentices differ widely according to the kind of office in which the apprentice is learning the trade. In very small offices, the boy gets an all-round knowledge of the trade; but since the equipment and technique in such offices are not of high grade, he does not become highly skilled in any one branch. Before he can readily gain employment in the large machine offices, where wages are usually higher, he must acquire considerable skill in some one of the branches of the trade; for the large office, while it desires men with an all-round knowledge of the printing business, employs ordinarily only those who are also proficient in some one branch of the trade. On the other hand, the apprentice in the large machine office, especially in the large newspaper office, as has been already indicated, rarely obtains a knowledge of the trade as a whole. The basis of the printers' skill is a general knowledge of spelling, punctuation, etc., and of typesetting. It is practicable for an apprentice to obtain this equipment in a machine office by passing from a position as copy holder to setting "ads.", then to proof reading, and finally to the machine. But to put an apprentice through such a course is expensive to the office, for at each change he must learn his new work. The result is that he is frequently kept in one position throughout his term of apprenticeship.

Moreover, if the apprentice were kept steadily at some one of the great branches of the trade, for example, hand composition, proof reading, or even making up, the lack of all-round training would not be serious; but it happens not infrequently that the position in which the boy is placed is one which requires little skill. At the expiration of a term of apprenticeship spent in such a position, the boy is frequently turned adrift by the office and a new boy put in his place. He is unable to obtain at jour-

Indifferent workmen establish indifferent wage standards" (*Proceedings*, 1901, p. 11).

neyman's wages such a position in another office. One solution of this particular problem would be a modification of the union's rules so as to permit the filling of such positions with unskilled laborers. Since the unions now ordinarily require the employment of either journeymen printers or apprentices in these positions,⁴² the employer finds it to his advantage to put apprentices at the work. Up to the present the union has directed its efforts to requiring the employer, as has been noted above, to move the apprentice from one position to another.

To supplement the training of the office, two classes of technical schools, corresponding in a general way to the deficiencies in office training noted above, have been established. One class, represented by the *Inland Printer School* at Chicago, aims to give printers who already have a general knowledge of the trade special training in some one branch. The students are thereby prepared to take positions in the large, highly specialized offices. The numerous schools for training printers in the operation of the linotype are of this character. The other class of schools endeavors to give the apprentice an all-round knowledge of the trade, and thus to prepare him better to learn a special branch in the large office. The most important institution of this class is the *School of Printing of the North End Union* at Boston. Under the plan of this institution the apprentice is indentured to an employer for four years; the first year he spends at the school and receives systematic instruction in the various branches of the trade. He is not paid any wages during this year, but his prospective employer pays for his tuition. The remaining three years are spent in the office of the employer, who agrees to give a rate of wages during this period high enough to make the total earned during apprenticeship greater than under the ordinary system.

⁴² See below, p. 253.

Although both classes of schools are likely to be beneficial, those that train the compositor specially in some branch after he has passed through his apprenticeship are perhaps the more likely to develop rapidly. The large number of small offices will continue for many years to supply the greater part of the demand for compositors.

The attitude of the local unions toward ordinary trade schools has not, hitherto, been favorable, and many local unions require the graduates of such schools to serve as long an apprenticeship in the office as other apprentices. The unions have, however, warmly approved of those schools which aim to continue the training of the apprentice beyond that received in the office. In general, the union may be said to be opposed to any attempt to disassociate the training of the apprentice from the actual work of the office. It fears from such a course "an abnormal influx of young men into a trade where there is no room for them."⁴³

The union has recently interested itself directly in plans for giving instruction to apprentices and journeymen. In 1907 the executive council was authorized to appoint a commission to formulate a "system of technical instruction."⁴⁴ Ex-President Prescott was made secretary of the commission and placed in charge of the work. Arrangements were made with the *Inland Printer Technical School* to furnish a correspondence course for journeymen and apprentices. For the present, the commission is confining its efforts to the development of this plan; but it also hopes later to arrange for the establishment of courses in art institutes and schools of design throughout the country which shall be especially fitted to the needs of printers.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 22, p. 355.

⁴⁴ *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 248.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 144.

CHAPTER XI

LABOR SAVING DEVICES

Five important devices designed to lessen the number of printers required to do a given amount of work have attracted the attention of the union during its history. In the order in which the union has dealt with them, they have been: (1) the borrowing of matter, (2) the use of "patent outsides", (3) the use of plate matter, (4) the exchange of matrices, (5) the use of typesetting and typesetting machines. The first four devices are alike in that they economize labor by utilizing more fully a piece of composed matter. They do not in the slightest degree affect the cost of the original composition. The fifth device, on the contrary, makes it possible for a workman to produce composition more rapidly.

The Borrowing of Matter.—The possibility of transferring matter which had been used from one office to another and thereby reducing the outlay for composition must always have been apparent to the publishers of newspapers. The local unions, doubtless, had cases of this kind to deal with at a very early time, yet the subject did not attract much attention until after the Civil War. In 1869 the session of the International rejected a resolution directing local unions to oppose the borrowing of matter.¹ This action was due not to any opposition to the principle involved, but rather to the reluctance of the International, at that period in its history, to interfere in local questions.

¹ The resolution in full was as follows, "Resolved, that where any fair office is affected by borrowing from any unfair or other office that the local union take a stand against such infringement upon the rights of its members" (Proceedings, 1869, p. 39).

There is ample ground for believing that at the time local unions very generally opposed the borrowing of matter; and three years later, in 1872, a committee of the International expressly declared its opinion that the transfer of matter was "detrimental to both proprietor and printer and should not be allowed."² In 1873 the International adopted a resolution "discountenancing the practice prevailing in several cities of loaning and borrowing matter between morning and evening newspapers."³

There were two important limitations on the extension of the practice of borrowing matter. In the first place, since the forms of type are heavy and easily disarranged, they can not be conveniently or cheaply transported a long distance. Secondly, matter must ordinarily be reused quickly, or its value as news is lost. For these reasons the transfer of matter in the form of type, the only method available until recently, is rarely practicable except between a morning and an evening newspaper published in the same city. Consequently, although the union was opposed equally to all exchanges of matter between offices, the rule prohibiting the borrowing of matter related, for a considerable period, only to exchanges between a morning and an evening newspaper.

The interdiction of "loaning and borrowing", in the resolution of 1873, apparently implied that if a morning and an evening newspaper were owned by the same person, matter might be transferred; but the president of the International, in interpreting the rule, held that it forbade the exchange of matter between "all papers printed in separate and distinct establishments *no matter by whom owned*."⁴ In 1890 the session of the Inter-

² Proceedings, 1872, p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, 1873, pp. 57, 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 15. In 1876 the resolution and decision were combined into an International rule as follows: "The practice of lending

national decided also that a morning and an evening newspaper owned by different persons were not to be allowed to exchange matter, even if the newspapers were printed in the same office.⁵ As the rule has since been enforced, therefore, the exchange of matter is prohibited unless the newspapers are printed in the same office and owned by the same person. Even under these circumstances, the exchange is frequently penalized. As has been noted above,⁶ some of the local unions require that the night rate shall be paid for all work done for a morning newspaper, even if part of the work is done in the daytime. Where such rules prevail, publishers who issue both a morning and an evening newspaper, usually agree with the local unions to pay the night rate to all their workmen; otherwise, complicated accounts must be kept. In 1900 President Donnelly declared that, in his opinion, where matter was thus exchanged, the "higher scale should be paid."⁷

"Patent Outsides."—About 1870 the use by the newspapers in the smaller towns of what are known as "patent outsides" began to be common. These were sheets printed on one side and furnished by a single printing office to a number of newspaper publishers. The central office printed thousands of these sheets from the same type, and sold them in small lots to its customers. The local publishers printed the other side of the sheets in their own offices. Since the cost of setting up the "patent" and borrowing matter between morning and evening newspapers printed in separate and distinct establishments, no matter by whom owned, is repugnant to the principles of our organization and subordinate unions are enjoined to put forth every effort consistent with the best interests of such unions, in order that such practice may be abolished."

⁵ Proceedings, 1896, pp. 51, 109, 148, 150.

⁶ Page 137 n.

⁷ Proceedings, 1900, p. 43.

ent outside" was thus divided among many publishers, the expense of publishing a newspaper was considerably reduced. The chief disadvantage in the system was that the reading matter of the "outside" was not closely adapted to the wants of any particular newspaper.

The newspapers which used "outsides" were almost exclusively weeklies published in towns too small to have local typographical unions. The union, therefore, never showed a keen interest in the subject, although it was occasionally considered. In 1870 a committee of five, appointed "to take into consideration the feasibility of adopting some system to discourage and break up the system of printing 'outsides' in other places than that where the paper is supposed to be published," reported that it could not devise a remedy.⁸ In 1873 a resolution urging the local unions to "use all reasonable means in their power to prevent the further extension of this pernicious system," although recommended for adoption by a committee, was laid on the table.⁹

Plate Matter.—Stereotyping by means of plaster molds has been used in book work since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and about 1869 the "paper process" of making the stereotype mold came into general use in the United States. By the latter method, a papier maché matrix is beaten into the face of the form of type and then placed for drying on a steam "bed." The new process is both more rapid and cheaper than the old, and after its introduction stereotyping soon came into wide use on newspapers, partly as a means of obviating the wear on type, but chiefly because the newer forms of presses required that the surfaces from which they printed should be cylindrical in shape.¹⁰

⁸ Proceedings, 1870, pp. 30, 47.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1873, pp. 31, 46.

¹⁰ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 8, p. 242; E. W. Byrne, "Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century" (New York, 1900).

Stereotyping soon began to be used also as a means of duplicating matter. Since a number of stereotypes or plates could be made from the same matrix at slight expense, the cost of plate matter was much less than that of composition. About 1870 the invention of plate holders, on which the plates could be mounted, made it possible to use conveniently part type and part plate matter in making up a page of a newspaper; and manufacturers began to make plates for sale to newspapers. Plate matter was superior in many ways to the "patent outsides." The publisher could use as much or as little plate matter as he saw fit; and, to some extent, he could select the matter for his newspaper. The cost of shipping the plates was, moreover, far less than that of shipping the half printed sheets. For these reasons, from about 1880, the use of plate matter increased rapidly, and soon became a subject of intense interest to the union.

A minority among the Printers argued that the use of plate matter did not, on the whole, displace compositors. They asserted that the resultant cheapening in the cost of printing newspapers had led to the starting of many newspapers, and that, as a rule, established newspapers, if they used plates, did not reduce the number of their compositors, but increased the size of their issues.¹¹ Although these contentions were probably justified, it was obvious that on many newspapers the immediate effect of the introduction of plate matter was a decrease in the number of compositors. The local unions, therefore, acted very generally on the assumption that the introduction of plate matter would decrease the amount of employment, and, as far as possible, they prevented its use.

In 1884 President Crawford of the International pointed out that the rules of the local unions relating to

¹¹ Proceedings, 1885, p. 84.

the use of plates varied greatly, and urged the session to make and enforce a general rule.¹² Although strongly opposed to the use of plates,¹³ the session was convinced that a uniform rule governing the policy of all the local unions was impracticable, since some of them were unable to interfere at all with the use of plates, whereas others forbade the practice, and still others had compromised in one way or another.¹⁴ Another obstacle to the adoption of a uniform rule was the diversity of interests among the local unions. In the larger cities, the publishers of daily newspapers, on account of the larger circulation, could better afford the expense of having matter set in their own offices and rarely used plate matter. The compositors in these cities were, consequently, not fearful of being displaced. Moreover, the plates were made in the larger cities; and the local unions there wished to secure employment for their members as compositors in the plate manufacturing offices. The unions in the large cities were opposed, therefore, to the enactment of an International rule prohibiting the use of plates in union offices. For these reasons the International in 1885 decided to "relegate the whole subject to subordinate unions."¹⁵

The question was, however, too much discussed to be kept out of the councils of the International. The unions in the smaller places wished the support of the International in their efforts to keep out plate matter; and at

¹² Proceedings, 1884, p. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1884, pp. 33, 67, 71, 72. The following resolution was adopted at the session of 1884: "The International Union emphatically condemns the plate system now in vogue in cities and towns as being in direct conflict with the doctrine of protection to American labor." The local unions when boycotting newspapers for using plates made much of the fact that the plates were made in some other city, and that by their use home laborers were displaced by the product of non-residents.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 14.

the session held in 1886 they urged the adoption of a provision that local unions should require employers who used plate matter to pay their compositors as if the matter had been set in the office.¹⁶ The session finally agreed upon a compromise measure which it was hoped would satisfy both the plate-producing and the plate-using unions. The International executive council was to endeavor to unionize the "plate factories"; and newspapers employing union compositors were not to be allowed to use plates made in non-union factories. On the other hand, local unions were authorized to oppose the use of plate matter if a reduction in the working force was caused. Finally, the International executive council was to examine the rules of the local unions and to formulate a "uniform policy"; strikes authorized by the council in accordance therewith were to be supported from the International treasury.¹⁷

By this compromise the larger unions secured the aid of the plate-using unions in unionizing the "plate factories." On the other hand, the International funds were to be used to prevent the displacement of members by the introduction of plates. The defect in the measure was that the conditions under which the International was to support strikes against the use of plate matter were not clearly defined. The International officers, unable to construct a uniform policy from the widely varying rules of the local unions, decided to follow strictly the provisions of the compromise, and held that no strike against the use of plates would be supported

¹⁶ Proceedings, 1886, pp. 71, 79. The resolution declared that the use of plates was "dangerously pernicious in its effects on the printing business by unjustly reducing the amount of labor and expense incident to the publication of newspapers and periodicals, thus throwing out of employment large numbers of fellow-craftsmen."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 124.

from the International treasury unless the effect of the introduction of plate matter had been to reduce the working force. The local unions which had been able to prevent the use of plates were highly dissatisfied with this ruling, since the International was made thereby tacitly to sanction the use of plates under certain conditions. At the next session of the International, in 1887, the opponents of plate matter succeeded in securing again the "relegation of plates and plate-supplement matter to subordinate unions with power to act."¹⁸ The policy of the International with reference to the use of plate matter has since remained unchanged.

Since the introduction of the linotype, interest among the Printers in the question has been slight, for the low cost of linotype composition has practically stopped the use of plate matter in machine-set newspapers. Enormous quantities are used in the country weeklies and in the daily newspapers in small cities, but these are usually published in places where there are no union printers. Many local unions forbid the use of plates, but in those places where the publishers can profitably use considerable quantities, the unions have very generally been forced to concede the point.

The Exchange of Matrices.—The papier-maché matrices which are used as molds in making stereotypes are easily duplicated, and they can be readily sent from one office to others. The transfer of matrices is by far the most convenient method of exchanging matter between offices which have appliances for stereotyping. Ordinarily, however, newspapers with stereotyping outfits have typesetting machines and prefer to set their own reading matter. Hitherto, the most important use of matrices as a means of transferring matter has been for advertise-

¹⁸ Proceedings, 1887, p. 108.

ments. It frequently happens that an advertiser wishes his advertisement inserted in two or three newspapers in exactly the same form and style. To save labor, he gives copy to only one newspaper. Ordinarily, by the time this newspaper can let proofs go to the others, it is too late for them to set the advertisement, and the custom has grown up in such cases of sending a matrix instead.

When the exchange of matrices began to be considerable, the International Union was somewhat puzzled as to whether they were to be considered borrowed matter or plates. If they were classified as borrowed matter, their exchange was forbidden by an International rule of long standing; but if they were plates, local unions might permit or forbid their use. At the outset the session was inclined to the latter view, and, both in 1888 and in 1892, it decided that the exchange of matrices was "purely a plate question and should, therefore, be relegated to the subordinate unions."¹⁹ But the local unions, even those which permitted the use of plate matter, placed matrices in the same category as borrowed matter and required that they should be measured and paid for as though the matter had been set in the office. After the abandonment of the piece system of remuneration it became impracticable for the local unions to continue the "measuring" of matrices, and they prevented their use, as far as possible, by requiring publishers to "reproduce", *i. e.*, to set up again, such matter within a specified time.

In 1902 the International, following the lead of the local unions, so amended the rule forbidding the borrowing of matter as to cover also the exchange of matrices. The old rule had forbidden only the exchange of mat-

¹⁹ Proceedings, 1888, pp. 137, 176; *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 174, 186.

ter between a morning and an evening newspaper, because, as has been noted, only between such newspapers was the borrowing of matter in the form of type practicable. Since the exchange of matrices was almost always between two morning or two evening newspapers, the rule was remodelled to forbid every interchange of matter, "either in the form of type, or matrices", between newspapers not published in the same office and owned by the same proprietor. It was provided, however, that the "reproduction" of matrices was to be "deemed a compliance with this law."²⁰ Under the rules of the union, therefore, when a matrix is transferred from one office to another, the type must be set up also in the second office, a proof taken, and corrections made exactly as if the piece of matter were intended for use.

The rule is not, however, so effective in increasing employment as it is in preventing the saving of labor. Ordinarily, in newspaper offices the "ad.-room" force must be large enough to take care of emergency work, and the "ad. men", now and then, have a good deal of spare time. If the publisher is allowed several days to "reproduce" the matrices, the effect of the rule in many offices is merely to keep the "ad. men" more fully occupied than they otherwise would be. If the local union is able to enforce a provision that the "reproduction" must be done on the day the borrowed matrix is used or on the next day, employment is more likely to be increased.²¹

The local unions and some of the publishers have, for some years, feared the introduction of a system under which advertisements would be set up in specially

²⁰ Proceedings, 1902, p. 141.

²¹ One of the points in contention between the New York union and the New York Publishers' Association in 1907 was whether matrices should be reproduced on the same day. The National Board of Arbitration allowed four days.

equipped offices and furnished in the form of matrices to the newspapers. The publishers would probably be forced in that event to reduce their rates for advertisements or to pay for the matrices. The unions, on their part, fear that the amount of labor required to set up advertisements would be considerably reduced. Since the requirement that matrices shall be "reproduced" serves to some extent as a barrier to the introduction of such a system, the publishers have not opposed the rule so energetically as they otherwise would have done, and the unions have been the more anxious to maintain it.²²

Within the last few years the interchange of matrices of reading matter between newspapers in different cities has become not uncommon. This has been due chiefly to the growing practice of issuing a "magazine supplement" with Sunday newspapers. These supplements contain general reading matter and colored cartoons that can be issued as well in one city as in another. Certain publishers who own newspapers in more than one city now set up a supplement in one of their offices and make matrices for the use of their other newspapers. Some publishers also have found it profitable to sell to newspapers in other cities either matrices or printed supplements for their Sunday issues. It has been held by the International officers that the rule against the exchange of matrices, although general in form, was not intended to apply to exchanges between newspapers in different cities.²³

²² Mr. Scott, who presented the argument for the New York union in the Arbitration Proceedings in 1907, said: "It is very clear to us that if we open the door to the unlimited use of mats and plates, in a very short time the effect would be the displacement of a great many members of our unions." See also "Regulation and Restriction of Output," Eleventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington, 1904), pp. 75, 83.

²³ Proceedings, 1902, p. 118. There were practically no inter-city exchanges in 1902, when the International rule was adopted.

The local unions may, therefore, permit or forbid the use of matrices brought from another city, just as they may permit or forbid the use of plate matter.

A statement of the action of the unions in a few cases where publishers wished to exchange matrices of reading matter will serve best to illustrate the differences in the policies of the local unions. In 1903 Mr. Munsey planned to use matrices from the office of the *Daily News* of New York in the Sunday issues of the *Washington Times* and the *Boston Journal*. The Boston union refused to allow the use of the matrices in the *Journal*, even if "reproduced."²⁴ The Washington union required the "reproduction" of the matrices. The Chicago union, in 1905, agreed to allow the use of matrices or "complete printed Sunday sections" in Hearst's Chicago *Examiner* and *American*. As a consideration for this concession, the publisher agreed that on these newspapers the maximum working day should be shorter and the minimum rate of pay higher than on the other Chicago newspapers.²⁵

In 1905 President Lynch called the attention of the session to the increasing use of matrices and printed sheets for Sunday supplements and argued strongly in favor of allowing their use on the ground that, in the long run, employment for printers would be thereby increased. The session authorized the executive council to confer with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association with a view to formulating an agreement con-

²⁴ Proceedings, 1903, p. 64.

²⁵ The contract sets forth that the "differences in scales on Chicago newspapers shall be deemed the just consideration agreed on by and between the parties hereto whereby Chicago Typographical Union, No. 16, relinquishes all claims to composition exclusive of advertisements in the Sunday supplement to Hearst's Chicago *American* and *Examiner*" (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 156).

cerning such exchanges, but no agreement nor International rule has been adopted.

To sum up, it may be said that the union has consistently opposed all of the four devices for the reuse or duplication of matter. Where the use of plates or the exchange of matter has been permitted, it has been because conditions were too strong for the union to overcome. The underlying motive in the opposition to such labor-saving devices has been the desire to prevent the displacement of labor; but the policy of opposition had its inception in certain peculiarities of the system of piece payment long in vogue on newspapers. Under that system, more particularly described in a preceding chapter, the publisher paid the compositors at a lump rate for all the matter contained in the newspaper; and the unions were always alert to prevent a reduction in the real rate of remuneration through the diversion of "fat" from the compositors employed in the office. If the employer had been allowed to have parts of the newspaper set outside the office, he might have selected the "fat" matter to be so set. Logically, the compositors should not have objected to the employer's having "straight" matter set in any place he saw fit or to his use of plates for "straight" matter, but the union did not discriminate so carefully. Moreover, the piece-working compositors in each office were always anxious to secure as much work as possible. According to their view, they had taken the whole job at a lump rate, and they insisted on being paid for all the matter used. If the publisher used plate matter, it was to be "measured and paid for" as if it had been set in the office.

As long as the piece system of remuneration prevailed, the rules against reuse and duplication were regarded,

not merely as devices to increase employment, but rather as means of securing to the compositors on each newspaper remuneration for all the matter used in the newspaper. There are, in many of the scales, other curious survivals of provisions originally intended to prevent the diversion of any of the piece work from the men in the office. For example, in the New York newspaper piece scale, it was provided that advertisements should not be considered as "standing" after they had been published the number of times marked on the original copy. The compositors were to be paid at regular piece rates for setting, or rather for "picking up", these advertisements if they were inserted again. In 1908 the New York union, which allows none of its members to work at a piece rate on newspapers, asked for the insertion in the scale, then under consideration, of a provision that advertisements other than standing ones should be "re-produced."

Compositors are now usually paid by time, and even where the piece system is in vogue, the lump rate no longer prevails. The piece rate is for "straight" matter, and the "fat" is set on time. The rules against the reuse and duplication of matter are, therefore, no longer a protection to the piece rate, but merely devices for making work. The change in the purpose of such rules is illustrated by the diversity of opinion within the union as to the form which the restriction on the use of matrices should take. The compositors on the *Washington Times*, in the case noted above, contended that the publisher should be made to pay for the privilege of using matrices, and that the employees of the *Times* should get the amount exacted. This was carrying out the principle that the compositors should be paid for all matter used in the newspaper. Since the piece scale does not

prevail on Washington newspapers, it was impracticable to ask the publisher to pay at a piece rate for the matrices; and the *Times* compositors proposed, as was done later in Chicago, to compound with the publisher for a higher time rate. The Washington union agreed with the *Times* compositors that all the matter in a newspaper should be set up in its own office; but it held that the purpose in enforcing such a rule was not to increase the remuneration of the men in the office but to afford employment.²⁶ The union, therefore, insisted that the matrices should be "reproduced." It is to be expected that by lapse of time such survivals in policy will lose their force. The prohibitions against the various forms of the reuse and duplication of matter will then rest, if still enforced, purely on the desire to increase the amount of employment.

Typesetting and Typesetting Machines.—In 1887 typesetting was essentially the same art as in the sixteenth century. While other branches of the printing trade had been revolutionized, the compositor had not advanced in his processes beyond the point he had reached four hundred years before. Probably no other handicraft employing such a large number of persons underwent as little change during this period, so full of industrial reconstruction. Attempts to devise machines for setting type have been made since the beginning of the

²⁶ The preamble to the resolution adopted by the Washington union on that occasion states the newer view clearly: "Whereas, it has always been the policy of the International Typographical Union and all unions subordinate thereto to endeavor to create as many situations as possible at the recognized scale of prices in the different jurisdiction . . . Whereas, it has never been the policy of the International Typographical Union or its subordinate unions to advocate or concur in any proposition that had for its purpose the increase of the wage of an individual member or group of members to the detriment of the remaining members of the union . . ." (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 22, p. 369).

nineteenth century; but the first commercially successful machine—the linotype—was invented by Mr. Mergenthaler in 1884. Since 1890 machine composition has been rapidly supplanting typesetting by hand.²⁷ The following table shows the number of linotypes manufactured in the United States and Canada for each year from 1887 to 1903:²⁸

1887.....	55	1896.....	757
1888.....	66	1897.....	510
1889.....	57	1898.....	636
1890.....	57	1899.....	566
1891.....	69	1900.....	714
1892.....	288	1901.....	661
1893.....	568	1902.....	757
1894.....	890	1903.....	891
1895.....	1076		
Total			8618

The policy of the union with reference to the working of the machines was defined at a very early stage in their introduction. The session of the International held in 1888 recommended "that subordinate unions . . . take speedy action looking to their recognition and regulation, endeavoring everywhere to secure their operation by union men upon a scale of wages which shall secure compensation equal to that paid hand compositors."²⁹ At the time, less than 100 linotypes were in operation in the United States and Canada; and the greater part of these were being run experimentally. The growing importance of the question led to the definite formulation,

²⁷ In an article entitled "The Introduction of the Linotype," published in the *Yale Review*, November, 1904, the present writer estimated the displacement of hand compositors occasioned by the introduction of the machine.

²⁸ There are several kinds of typesetting and typecasting machines, but the Mergenthaler linotype exercised such a predominant influence during the period of introduction that attention may be confined to it without danger of serious error.

²⁹ Proceedings, 1888, p. 181.

by the session of 1889, of the union's policy in a "general law" controlling the action of subordinate unions. With unimportant changes in phraseology, this rule has since remained in force. In its original form, it was as follows: "The International Typographical Union directs that in all offices within its jurisdiction where typesetting machines are used, practical printers shall be employed to run them and also that subordinate unions shall regulate the scale of wages on such machines."³⁰ Curiously enough, the printers were reluctant at first to work at the machines; and at the session in 1890 resolutions were adopted urging members of subordinate unions to learn to operate them.³¹

The requirement that the machines should be operated only by journeymen printers had two distinct aspects: In the first place, it asserted the claim that the operation of the machine was printers' work. Important as this provision was in minimizing displacement, it involved no break in the former practice of the union, and in effect was simply an extension of jurisdiction over machine operators. The rule also prohibited the operation of the machines by apprentices, and in this respect was a striking departure from the previous policy of the union. Up to that time, it had been the uniform custom of the union to consider any of the work of a printer proper for an apprentice.

A slow movement toward the incorporation of machine work in the regular training of the apprentice has been going on; and in 1909 local unions may, if they see fit, grant permits to apprentices to work on machines during the last six months of their term.³² In the enactment of rules restricting the operation of machines by appren-

³⁰ Proceedings, 1889, p. 91.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 153.

³² *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 268; *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 169.

tices, the union has been actuated by two motives. The members felt strongly that as far as possible the opportunity to learn the new devices ought to be given to the displaced hand compositors. The apprentices had far greater adaptability than the displaced men, who in many cases had to learn to operate the machine or quit the trade. The modification in the rule is due to the passing of the early stage in the introduction of the machine. The printer who was displaced by the machine has either found his place in the trade or has abandoned it for some other occupation. The maintenance of the rule in its present form is due to the fear that machine work may fall into hands of men who are not printers.

In order to facilitate the policy of manning the machines with printers, the subordinate unions found it necessary to provide an opportunity for journeymen to learn the new device. Since an operator produces for the first few weeks only a small amount of matter, employers were given some concession in wages during this period. The International Union left the decision as to the terms of "learners' scales" entirely to the subordinate unions, except that from 1896 to 1899 the term of machine apprenticeship was fixed at two months.³³ The local unions showed themselves for the most part keenly alive to the importance of securing for their members a knowledge of the machine. They usually made their "learners' scale" low, with a view to inducing employers to train their own workmen rather than to employ skilled operators from other cities. Several of the larger local unions, going still further in their anxiety to meet the demand for operators, bought or rented machines and permitted their members to practise on them.³⁴ The introduction of machines was undoubtedly much facilitated

³³ Proceedings, 1899, p. 43; *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 110.

³⁴ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 6, no. 3, p. 7.

by the constant efforts of the unions to supply the needed operators.⁸⁵

So anxious were the unions to avoid, as far as possible, the displacement of printers from the offices in which they had been employed that in 1894 the session of the International adopted a rule that printers employed in an office at the time machines were installed should be given "preference as operators, one expert operator being allowed."⁸⁶ This rule remained in force only a short time. An appeal was taken to the International president by an operator who maintained that his rights as a member of the union were thereby infringed. President Prescott sustained this contention on the ground that the rule was a violation of the constitution of the International Union, under which a member with a travelling card is entitled to the "friendship and good offices" of any union to which the card may be presented.⁸⁷ Mr. Prescott was careful to point out, however, that the rights of a travelling member would not be abridged where an employer "of his own volition or at the instigation of any person or persons decided to receive no application for situations until those who were working in his office had been given an opportunity." The responsibility was thus placed entirely on the local unions,

⁸⁵ As the period of introduction has passed, the local unions have shown themselves less eager to secure for their members training in machine work. Since they are no longer so apprehensive that non-printers will be put to work on the machines, many of the machine operators do not look with favor on plans for recruiting their branch of the trade. As a consequence, the "learners' scales" in many unions are not low enough to make it profitable for employers to train operators. The constant scarcity of operators has excited the concern of the International officers, and in 1907 President Lynch urged the importance of making more liberal scales for learners (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 30, p. 484).

⁸⁶ Proceedings, 1894, p. 38.

⁸⁷ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 8, p. 301.

and, in the majority of cases, agreements were successfully concluded with employers under which operators were trained from the hand compositors working in the office.

The local unions frequently had to deal with proposals to decrease the scale for hand composition in order to enable employers to meet the competition of the machine. This matter was entirely under the control of the local unions, but the International officials strongly advised against any attempt to keep the machine out by cutting down the price for hand work. In his address to the forty-second annual session, Mr. Prescott said: "Those familiar with the productiveness of machines are agreed that hand work cannot begin to compete with them, and it is therefore futile to attempt to stay the tide of their introduction by reductions in the scale unless we are prepared to suffer level decreases amounting to 40 to 50 per cent; and at that figure a better living could be secured at almost any unskilled avocation. A serious reduction in the rate of hand composition is sure to affect the machine scale also."⁸⁸ Notwithstanding this eminently sane advice, as the hand compositors saw themselves displaced, some of them turned to their only weapon of defense—competition with the machine.⁸⁹ One method was for a group of compositors to form a partnership and furnish matter to publishers at a price as low as that formerly paid for composition in the publishers' offices. The compositors paid their own rent, their fuel and light bills, as well as the cost of type. The scale of the union was thus underbid by its own members. In common decency, the unions could not deal harshly with such covert methods of competition, but the union scales for hand

⁸⁸ Proceedings, 1894, p. 3.

⁸⁹ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 6, no. 22, p. 1; Vol. 10, pp. 251, 342.

composition were rarely lowered for the purpose of competing with the machines.

Of direct opposition to the introduction of the machine, there was practically none. Occasionally a small union refused for a time to make a reasonable scale for machines, but the International steadily discountenanced such a policy. The Kansas unions were able to keep the machine out of the state printing office for a time by political influence,⁴⁰ and machines were not introduced in the Government Printing Office at Washington until 1906. But in general the Printers acquiesced in the new order of things without a struggle.

The introduction of the machine has been of great advantage to the Printers in several directions. The union was materially aided thereby in reducing the hours of labor. The problem of boy labor, perplexing since the beginning of the century, has become unimportant. A bothersome and quarrel-provoking method of remuneration has been supplanted. The regularity of employment has been far greater among machine operators than it was among the hand compositors as a class; and the wage of machine operators is considerably higher than that of hand compositors was at the time of the introduction of the machines. The one unfavorable effect of the machine from the standpoint of the workman is the increase in the intensity of labor. Linotype operators are universally agreed that machine work is far more exhausting than hand composition.

The International has at times attempted by rules to keep the required speed of operators within what the union considers reasonable limits. In 1893 it was enacted that no member should be allowed to accept work "where a task, stint, or dead line is imposed by the em-

⁴⁰ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 10, p. 453.

ployer on operators of typesetting devices."⁴¹ The same session prohibited operators from accepting a "bonus per thousand above the regular scale." The fear that the employers would raise the required amount so high as to make the work a very heavy strain, or that through the incentive of a bonus the standard would be put up by especially skillful operators to a point difficult of attainment, led to the enactment of these rules.

The prohibition of the payment of bonus was repealed in 1894, but the sentiment against this method of remuneration remained very strong; and in 1902 it was enacted that no bonus should be accepted by machine operators where the bonus was "voluntary on the part of the employer", and "not provided for in the scale of prices."⁴² The session of 1902 also recommended "that subordinate unions establish a stated amount of machine composition which is considered a fair day's work."⁴³ The International rules, if they had been literally enforced as they stood in 1902, denied the employer the right to place any definite stint, but gave the unions the right to do the very thing prohibited to employers. Despite the prohibition against an employer's requiring a fixed amount of work as a condition of employment, this was done in nearly all newspaper offices; and in 1903 the Typographical Union repealed its prohibition. The same session struck out the section recommending the "establishment by the local unions of a fair day's work." The rule against the acceptance of any bonus not paid according to the union scale is the only remaining International rule of this kind, except a provision that "members shall not engage in speed contests." The purpose of this unique prohibition is to prevent the arising of exaggerated ideas

⁴¹ Proceedings, 1893, p. 200.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 141.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 142.

of the amount proper for an operator to set. Many of the local unions, however, fix a "minimum of competency" for machine operators, and an operator who sets the specified amount of matter in a day cannot be discharged for incompetency.⁴⁴

Such rules as those described have seemingly been ineffective in checking the increase in the speed of operators. Occasionally a local union has sheltered an unreasonable demand behind the rules, but, in the main, the speed of the operator has been determined only by his ability. The large number of operators receiving more than the minimum wage scale indicates that as a class their output has not been arbitrarily limited. A large part of the supporters of the rules described above desire also to obtain by this means employment for operators who are not able to reach the standard set by foremen. One difficulty is that the constant increase in the speed of the operators has made the old provisions for learning the machine inadequate. The proper remedy is for the unions and employers to revise the "learners' scales" to conform to existing conditions.

The success of the union in enforcing the rule that printers shall be employed as linotype operators has been frequently attributed solely to the strength of the union. In his testimony before the Industrial Commission, Mr. Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, said: "The printers have had a most remarkable history, particularly within the last five years. The machine . . . was introduced, and it is one of the cases where a new machine, revolutionizing a whole trade, was introduced that did not involve a wholesale disaster even for a time; and it is due to the fact that the International Typographical Union has grown to be an organized fac-

⁴⁴ See below, p. 233.

tor and recognized by those employing printers as a factor to be considered." A more explicit statement of the same view was made before the commission by Mr. D. F. Kennedy, an organizer of the Federation of Labor for Indiana. He said, "These machines would now be run by typewriters, not typesetters, had it not been for the union taking possession of the situation to that extent that they compelled them to use typesetters to run the machine."⁴⁵

The introduction of machinery frequently leads to the employment of less highly trained and less skilful workmen, and in many cases to the replacing of skilled artisans with poorly paid women and children operatives. The Printers, on the contrary, have been able to require an apprenticeship of four years before a workman is permitted to operate the linotype. It is, therefore, important to inquire how far it is true that the Typographical Union by sheer force of combination has been able to force the employment of highly paid workmen to perform work which might be done by a much cheaper class of laborers. On the answer to this question depends the decision as to how far it is possible for other unions to utilize the experience of the Printers on those occasions when fundamental reconstructions of their own trades are in progress. A policy which required the employment of skilled workmen for work easily within the power of less skillful employees would be clearly uneconomic, and its continual enforcement would be against great economic pressure.

The Printers undoubtedly occupied an advantageous strategic position with reference to the introduction of the machine. The chief strength of the union for many years has consisted in the control of the greater part of

⁴⁵ Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. 7, pp. 615, 748.

the larger newspaper offices. It is entirely probable that the union did secure the control of the machine in some of these offices because the publishers feared the boycott, which is peculiarly effective against newspapers. A second advantage possessed by the union lay in the fact that as the machine was introduced in the smaller newspaper and job offices, the supply of expert workmen, trained in the offices of the large union newspapers, furnished a ready labor market for employers who were about to install linotypes.

Several facts point, however, to the conclusion that the policy of the Printers has not succeeded simply through the power of combination. In the early years of the introduction of the linotype, much was said about the possibility of operating machines with non-printers. The experiment was tried in several cities, but with such small success that employers have abandoned the attempt to recruit their linotype operators from this class of labor. Non-union offices with substantial uniformity employ printers as machine operators. The union rules do not bind these employers, and their policy is dictated only by economic interest. The same practice prevails in other countries where the linotype is in use.⁴⁶

Moreover, a trade union rule without economic justification would probably have won its chief success at the outset and would gradually have decreased in influence. The returns made to the officers of the Typographical Union show that the union is fully maintaining control of the machines, for the proportion of union to non-union operators is not decreasing.⁴⁷ In 1908, ac-

⁴⁶ See Webb, "Industrial Democracy," p. 407; Radiguer, "Maitres Imprimeurs et Ouvriers Typographes," p. 482.

⁴⁷ The decrease from 1905 to 1908 was due to the eight-hour strike in which a considerable number of book and job offices were lost to the union.

ording to these returns, 87 per cent of all machine employees in cities where there were local unions were members of the union.⁴⁸ In no other branch of the trade does the union control so large a proportion of the workmen. The following table shows by years the percentage of union operators and machine tenders:⁴⁹

	Percentage of Unionists.				
	1901	1902	1904	1905	1908
Male Machine Operators.....	92	92	94¼	94	89
Female Machine Operators...	63	56	62½	63½	47
Machine Tenders.....	86	89	95	90	82
Operator Machinists.....	100	90	93	93¾	83
Total	91	90	92¾	92½	87

A consideration of the technical character of the linotype confirms the conclusion that it differs from many machines in requiring for its most profitable operation the skill of the superseded handicraftsman. The amount of matter produced on a linotype is directly proportional to the skill of the operator. Every part of the hand compositor's knowledge is useful to the machine operator, except an acquaintance with the location of the case boxes, and, instead, the operator must learn the keyboard of the machine. In addition, the operator must think far more quickly. He must not only know the same things, but he must be able to use his knowledge more rapidly.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The censuses made by the union officials omit more non-unionists than unionists, but the conclusion as to the tendency is not weakened by such omissions.

⁴⁹ Compiled from *The Typographical Journal*, Vol. 18, no. 11 (supplement); Vol. 24, no. 2, p. 212; "Minimum Wage Scales, March, 1905"; and "Minimum Wage Scales, March, 1908."

⁵⁰ The present linotype operators were for the most part trained at "straight" hand composition. As this method of production falls more and more into disuse, it is a grave question whether apprenticeship in a printing office will form a sufficient training for the operators. The knowledge of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization which the apprentice gets from hand composition will probably have

The real merit of the union's machine policy was that it secured for its members an opportunity to show to the employer that as a machine operator the printer was more profitable than the unskilled workman. This policy required the frank recognition of the machine, its honest working, and fair concessions in "learners' scales."

to be obtained in trade schools, or the apprentices intended for linotype operators will be recruited from a better educated class of boys. For some time, however, this will not be an urgent question.

CHAPTER XII

IRREGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

Certain trade regulations of the Printers have as a leading purpose the lessening or the distributing of irregularity of employment. Such rules fall into three classes: (1) rules requiring the employer to give continuous employment during certain hours, (2) rules securing to the regularly employed workman the right to divide his work with the unemployed, (3) rules requiring the distribution of work beyond a fixed amount.

Continuity of Employment.—Until very recently, conditions in the printing trade made it desirable for employers to keep at hand as large a body of workmen as possible. In both the book and job and newspaper offices the work was done by the piece, and the cost of equipment was not great. An employer might, therefore, at relatively small expense make it possible to increase considerably, when occasion demanded, the output of his office, and in both branches of the trade this was highly desirable. In the book and job offices there were, from day to day as well as from season to season, great variations in the amount of work to be done. The employers, naturally, wished to keep around them a large available force, ready for an emergency. When work came in, therefore, they divided it up so as to retain in the office as large a number as possible of printers. Even stronger influences tended to make employment in the newspaper offices discontinuous during working hours. Since the publisher wishes his newspaper to contain the latest news, he desires to compress within the shortest

practicable period of time the work of setting up the newspaper. He was especially reluctant under the piece system to have matter set until its use in the newspaper was reasonably certain. The best arrangement, from the publisher's standpoint, would have been, therefore, to keep the force of compositors half employed for the first few hours each night or day, and then busily engaged for the remainder of the "hours of composition."

For many years after their institution, the organizations of printers made no attempt to obtain continuous employment during working hours. They were successful, first of all, in securing the enforcement in newspaper offices of a rule which gave each compositor payment for all time lost by reason of the failure of the employer to furnish work. In the Philadelphia scale of 1850, for example, it was provided that after eight p. m. "all waiting for mails or for any other purpose" was to be paid for at the rate of 25 cents per hour. Rules to much the same effect were enforced later by practically all the local unions. In order to avoid the trouble of keeping account of "standing time", employers ordinarily kept on hand a quantity of copy known as "bogus", and matter set from "bogus" was measured and paid for at the regular rate. Naturally, no "fat" ever went on the "bogus hook"; and the publishers sometimes gave out copy as "bogus" which, although not classified by the unions as extra price matter, required more time to set than ordinary matter. The unions usually provided that certain classes of "objectionable" copy might not be used as "bogus." The rules relating to "standing time" were entirely local and varied in minor details from union to union; but the principle on which they were based was frequently approved by the International. In 1870, for example, that body recommended "to all subordinate unions the neces-

sity, as a matter of right and justice, of providing for a fair and equitable remuneration for standing time, whenever the retention is at the instance of the employing party."¹

To prevent the publishers from shortening unduly the working day, the unions began to insist from about 1870 that the newspapers should furnish a certain minimum amount of work each day or night. The employer was ordinarily required to give each piece hand six or seven hours work at composition. In 1880 the International formally approved the rules requiring the employer to "give a reasonable number of hours of composition on daily papers."²

In book and job offices the unions were never able to enforce generally regulations of the same kind. The New York scale of 1850 provided that compositors required to "remain in the office unemployed awaiting orders from the employer" should be paid for the time lost at a time rate. The union was probably unable to make the rule effective, for it did not appear in the scale of 1869. The New York union had no effective rule until 1898,³ when it required that piece hands should have at least four and a half hours' work on any day they were required to be in the office. The Chicago union enforced for a time a rule that compositors were not to remain unemployed more than one hour. Only a few unions, however, attempted to deal with the question; and those that did were far less successful than they were in enforcing similar rules on the newspapers.

The general introduction of the time system of remuneration has made these rules for the most part obsolete. Where the machines are operated on a piece system,

¹ Proceedings, 1870, p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 67.

³ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 9, pp. 230, 271; Vol. 10, p. 368.

"standing time" is charged and the old rules concerning "bogus" and "objectionable" copy are still in vogue. The unions also ordinarily provide against the employment of a workman on time for less than a day. Such rules are less needed than formerly, since the pressure of the heavy fixed charges, due to the use of machines, favors strongly the continuous employment of the men during the working day. Even if a newspaper publisher pays his men by the piece system and is not required to pay for "standing time", the incentive, at present, to keep a large force is not nearly so great as it was when his newspaper was set by hand composition. The saving which he might make in wages would be largely, if not entirely, counterbalanced by the extra outlay for interest on machines and other charges connected with a larger equipment.

The Right to Divide Work.—Among trade unionists the feeling that unemployed members should be aided is widespread. This feeling has its root, partly, in the sympathy of workmen in a trade for each other, and partly also in the recognition of the fact that the laborer without work is a menace to the maintenance of the union trade regulations. Among printers employed on newspapers, the relief of the distress occasioned by irregularity of employment has been chiefly accomplished by an elaborate system of sharing work. The system, which has been in vogue for many years, originated in the conditions of the industry; but the union has from time to time attempted to regulate and more thoroughly enforce it.

In newspaper offices each regular employee is given a situation or, in the slang of the printers, a "sit." The regular is expected to "protect his sit", i. e., if he does not work, he must furnish a substitute. In the course of

time, the printers came to regard it as a well established principle that a regular might divide at pleasure the work of his "sit" with his fellow workmen. The right of a regular to distribute the work of his "sit" was strongly maintained by both regulars and substitutes. The regular was interested in the maintenance of the "subbing system", because it practically guaranteed him a means of livelihood if he lost his situation. Moreover, he might lay off when he pleased, so long as he saw that his "sit" was filled. The substitutes favored the system because the regulars could be depended upon to distribute work more widely than a foreman would.

The efficacy of the system in providing work for the unemployed was undoubtedly very great. The local unions frequently urged the regulars to be generous in dividing their work; and the regular who never laid off was unpopular. In times of depression, it was not uncommon for unmarried regulars to give the larger part of their work to substitutes. Although a regular might give work to any substitute he pleased, there was a strong feeling that every substitute should have at least some work, and public opinion in the union was hostile to undue favoritism. A few unions even required the regulars to "put on" the substitutes in rotation.

Many foremen were strongly opposed to allowing the regulars an unlimited right to distribute work. A foreman could discharge an incompetent substitute and refuse to allow him to work in the office, but it frequently happened that the substitute, without being actually incompetent, was less capable than the man whose place he filled. Foremen, since they were responsible for the performance of work, disliked a system which frequently caused them to have a less efficient workman than they could have provided for themselves. From time to

time, therefore, they tried to break down or modify the "subbing system." The earliest attempt of this kind was the restriction of the regular's choice of a substitute to a posted list of workmen known as a "sub-list." The foreman, in effect, said to the regular: "You may choose as your substitute any one of these printers, but no one else." The foreman limited the number of names on his list in order to give efficient substitutes work enough to hold them in the office. The substitutes were thus about as steadily employed as regulars; but the "subbing system" lost its virtue as a means of relieving the unemployed.

Considerable difference of opinion existed in the union as to the advisability of opposing the establishment of "sub-lists." Some local unions permitted the practice, and for some years the International refused to make any declaration on the subject. In 1868 and 1870 resolutions declaring that the posting of a "sub-list" was "an exercise of arbitrary power, not warranted by the constitution" and "injurious to and subversive of the best union principles" were defeated.⁴ Many delegates maintained that any interference on the part of the union would be in conflict with an International resolution of long standing, which laid down the principle that "nothing should be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices." In 1876, however, the subordinate unions were directed to take such action as might seem to them "best calculated to abolish what is known as the sub-list system."⁵ The resolution was not mandatory, and for ten years the opponents of the "sub-list" system sought to secure the enactment of an International rule which would forbid the practice in all union offices.

The International officers uniformly argued against the prohibition of "sub-lists." President Armstrong, in

⁴ Proceedings, 1868, p. 70; *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 42.

his address to the session of 1878, said: "As it appears to me, a foreman has just as much right to say who shall sub in an office as he has to name the parties who shall hold the situations. I understand that the sub-list system prevails in a majority of our union newspaper offices, and I am satisfied that its universal adoption will come in the near future."⁶ His successor, President Haldeman, following the same line of reasoning, decided in an appealed case that the putting up of a "sub-list" was "optional with a foreman."⁷ On the other hand, the travelling printers were strongly opposed to "sub-lists." The ease with which work as a substitute could be secured was partly responsible for the existence of a class of tramp printers who lived almost entirely by "subbing." These "tourists", as they were euphemistically termed, were an influential class; and they were a unit in their bitter opposition to any limitation on the right of regulars to distribute work.

The opponents of the "sub-list" gradually gained ground, and an increasing number of local unions prohibited the practice. In 1882 an International resolution directing subordinate unions to "abolish the sub-list where practicable" was adopted, but the session refused to make the resolution more definite.⁸ The International president, in his annual address to the session of 1883, argued as had his predecessors that any restriction on the right of a foreman to hire and discharge was unwarranted by the custom of the union. This view had become distinctly unpopular; and the rapidly increasing strength of the union at the time disposed the session to yield to the demands of the more radical element. The delegates from Chicago union, acting under instructions, presented

⁶ Proceedings, 1878, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 61.

to the session a rule requiring the abolition of all "sub-lists." The rule as passed instructed "subordinate unions to abolish sub-lists on or before the 1st of September, 1883, under penalty of having their charters revoked."⁹

The International president found, however, a method of escape from this seemingly stringent measure, and, in announcing by circular letter the adoption of the new rule, he took occasion to interpret it in advance. In his opinion, the substitute was employed by the foreman and not by the regular; consequently, the consent of the foreman must be secured before any substitute could work. He accordingly found "but a limited sphere for the operation of the resolution." Foremen might not have "sub-lists"; the number of substitutes "could not be limited or precedence in employment required"; but the foreman could reach the same end by granting the privilege of "subbing" to only a few printers.

The sentiment in the union against any restriction on the choice of substitutes was by this time very strong; and in 1884 the rule prohibiting "sub-lists" was affirmed at the session of the International by an overwhelming vote of seventy-eight to six; and the victorious radicals secured also the repudiation of the president's decision. "The practice of requiring the permission of a foreman" before a member of a subordinate union could be employed as a substitute was forbidden.¹⁰ Under this rule the foreman might, of course, bar from working in the office a substitute whom he found to be incompetent, but he could not deny the substitute an opportunity to demonstrate his efficiency. If the substitute was competent and the foreman would not let him "sub" in the office, the local union could take the matter up.¹¹ Moreover, it was

⁹ Proceedings, 1883, p. 53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1884, pp. 18, 88.

¹¹ See below, p. 229.

provided that a regular could not be discharged or disciplined for putting in his place an incompetent substitute, if the foreman had not notified him that the substitute was barred for incompetency. One of the results aimed at by this series of rules was that no member should be shut out of employment on account of the ill-will of the foreman. If the foreman would not hire him as a regular, his fellow-unionists could share their work with him.

Since 1885 no proposal to repeal the rules establishing the right of the regular to distribute work has received any considerable support at the sessions of the International. On the contrary, the union, from time to time, has directed its attention to securing the better enforcement of the rules by local unions and also has provided specifically against certain ingenious evasions of the rules by foremen.

Some foremen restricted to a certain extent the distribution of work by requiring that all the regulars must work on certain days of the week and that on other days only a limited number of "subs" might work.¹² On busy days, the foreman thus assured himself of the presence of his regulars and avoided the possibility of being inconvenienced by less efficient substitutes. He was also better able to obtain additional workmen if the regulars could not employ substitutes and thus decrease the available supply. Rules of this kind were objectionable to the union, for both the right of the regular to lay off when he chose and his power to distribute work were thereby largely taken away. In 1884 the International expressed its strong disapproval of rules "allowing only a specified number of 'subs' to work each day, and on certain days none at all." Many local unions prohibited the practice:

¹² The days thus specified were known in the vernacular of the printers as "must days."

but the International took no definite stand until 1890, when the following rule was adopted: "Foremen shall not designate any particular day nor how many days a man shall work in any one week."¹³

When the publication of Sunday newspapers was begun, each regular employee in the composing room was expected to see that his situation was filled on all seven days of the week. As the union since 1890 has not allowed its members to work more than six days in any one week if a substitute can be had, the work of one of the seven days was given by the regular to a substitute. The regulars, animated by the desire to aid the unemployed, distributed the work of the seventh day among practically all the available "subs." The substitutes in the office varied, therefore, from time to time considerably in number and efficiency, since the better men ordinarily soon found regular situations. In order to assure the presence of efficient workmen by giving them regular employment, foremen began very generally to hire men for only six days, or, in the language of the trade, to give out six-day situations. The regulars were arranged in such a way that each worked on six specified nights. Such an arrangement was known as a "phalanx." Under this system the power of the regulars to distribute work was, of course, much decreased. Moreover, the regular was no longer privileged to select any day of the week he pleased as his "off" day.

Considerable dissatisfaction was occasioned by the new system; and in 1901 the following rule was adopted by the International: "Phalanxing by foremen or giving out six-day situations on seven-day papers, thereby controlling extra work, constitutes a sub-list."¹⁴ As interpreted by

¹³ Proceedings, 1884, pp. 42, 67; *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 209.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 126.

the International president, this rule prohibited the foreman of any newspaper from changing, except temporarily, the holders of seven-day situations into holders of six-day situations.¹⁵ The rule was unsatisfactory to many local unions, for the regulars objected to being made responsible for seven-day situations, and in 1906 local unions were allowed to provide, if they chose, for six-day situations.¹⁶

In recent years the desire of the foreman to control all the work of his office has been much increased by certain changes in the conditions under which daily newspapers are produced. The number of men needed on different days in the week varies more widely than formerly, especially on newspapers with large Sunday issues. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights, when the men are partly occupied in preparing matter for the Sunday issue, the force must be larger. In order to hold the men whom he needs on these days, the foreman must give them more than three days' work each week. He is, therefore, eager to give to these "extras", as they are called, as much work as possible, and objects strongly to having his regulars give to outsiders work which would aid him in keeping efficient "extras."

In many offices foremen who labored under this difficulty stopped giving out regular situations. Though the workmen who already had regular situations were left undisturbed, all new workmen were taken on as "extras."

¹⁵ President Lynch has held that phalanxing may be temporarily allowed in case of a reduction in the force, but that it is not lawful to give out six-day situations in sufficient numbers to fill the needs of the newspaper permanently. Phalanxing for four months, for example, is not a temporary phalanx (President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 66, p. 612). As a result of the enforcement of the rule in Philadelphia fifteen holders of six-day situations were dismissed from one newspaper (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 24, p. 442).

¹⁶ Proceedings, 1906, p. 267.

There was, of course, a tacit understanding between the foreman and the men as to the days they should be employed; but nominally the men for each day were hired by having their names posted the day before. By this subterfuge the foreman obtained entire control of the work of the office. To some men he gave six days' work; to others, five; and to some, perhaps, three. The "subbing system" was completely destroyed. In 1902 the International enacted the following rule: "The practice by foremen of selecting their force from day to day or not having any regular situations in an office is prohibited. Foremen must give out such minimum number of situations as are needed to meet office requirements."¹⁷ It is very difficult, however, to determine the "minimum number of situations needed to meet office requirements", and conditions have not been greatly altered in such offices by the enactment of the rule.¹⁸

The rules of the union do not at present secure to the members the power to effect a wide distribution of work.¹⁹ As long as the equipment of a compositor was a "frame" and type, costing, perhaps, \$50, and payment was by the piece, the foreman of a newspaper could have one or several incompetent substitutes at work without serious difficulty; but, in an office where each operator works a machine valued at \$3500 and operated at a heavy fixed charge, the foreman is anxious that each machine shall be in charge of a highly efficient workman. The "ad. men" and proof readers must be trained to the requirements of each newspaper. The foreman exercises,

¹⁷ Proceedings, 1902, pp. 136, 140.

¹⁸ The most effective device for securing the giving out of situations has been to set the rate higher for "extras" than for regulars. Thus the New York union requires that "extras" shall be paid 50 cents more for each day or night than regulars.

¹⁹ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 10, p. 196; Vol. 22, p. 589.

therefore, more strictly than in the days of hand composition, his power to bar from the office incompetent printers.²⁰ The result is that in almost all offices the number of substitutes is small, and these are employed almost as steadily as the regulars. "The tendency in the printing trade," said the International president in 1902, "is towards permanency in the office staff—both regulars and substitutes."

Compulsory Distribution of Work.—The distribution of work was for a long time left by the union entirely to the voluntary action of the regulars. Naturally, they were not all equally influenced by the sentiment in favor of dividing work with the unemployed. Some holders of seven-day situations, for example, persisted in working seven days in the week even at times when many of their fellow workmen were idle. Such conduct was particularly obnoxious; and in 1890 the International prohibited members employed on morning newspapers from working more than six days in any one week if a substitute could be obtained.²¹ This rule, known in the union as the "six-day law", has since been constantly amended with a view to making it more effective. Attention was soon called to the fact that members in certain offices were working overtime, and it was argued that they were engrossing employment as effectually as if they were working seven days in the week. Accordingly, in 1891 the "six-day law" was amended so as to prohibit any member from working on a morning newspaper more than fifty-nine

²⁰ The judgment of a foreman as to the competency of a substitute may be passed upon by the union exactly as in the case of a member discharged for incompetency. See below, p. 232. But much greater freedom is allowed the foreman in adjudging substitutes to be incompetent. If a foreman, however, refuses on personal grounds to allow a member to "sub" in an office, he may be fined (President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 48, p. 621).

²¹ Proceedings, 1890, p. 154.

hours in any one week if a substitute could be had. A fine of one day's pay was prescribed for a violation of the rule.²²

Defects in the "six-day law" were soon discovered. It was still possible under the rule for a workman to have employment for more than six days in a week; for each week was counted as distinct, and if a substitute was not available during the week, or rather on the last day of the week, the workman might work the seventh day. If the rule was to be fully effective, it was clear that the period within which work was to be given to substitutes must be extended. In 1899, accordingly, the rule was amended to require a member who had worked seven days in one week to lay off a day if a substitute became available at any time during the succeeding week.²³ By this amendment the distribution of extra days was fairly well secured.

The rule was still defective as a means of forcing the distribution of overtime; for a member rarely worked enough overtime in a single week to amount to a full day's work, and the rule did not require the giving away of less than a day's work. Regulars were able, therefore, to engross many small pieces of overtime. In 1902 local unions were empowered to require that after a certain number of hours overtime had been worked a substitute must be employed. They were also to fix the period during which overtime should be accumulated.²⁴ Only a few of the local unions made the necessary provisions, and in 1906 the session of the International fixed the minimum period of accumulation at thirty days,²⁵ but local unions

²² *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 2, no. 3, p. 4; Proceedings, 1891, pp. 166, 208.

²³ Proceedings, 1899, p. 50; *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 145; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 15, p. 198.

²⁴ Proceedings, 1902, p. 125; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 22, p. 241.

²⁵ Proceedings, 1906, p. 265.

were allowed to extend the period if they saw fit. A member who worked more than forty-eight hours in any one week was to be charged up with the overtime until it amounted to a day's work. This was to be given to the first eligible substitute. Until a substitute appeared or until the expiration of the period of accumulation, additional overtime was to be added. Since the rate for overtime is higher than for other work, a member would be somewhat better off even if he gave to a substitute the same number of hours he had worked overtime. In 1907 President Lynch held, however, that a "substitute should be employed in all instances where the overtime money equals a day's wages." In other words, the workman was to give to a substitute not merely the number of hours of overtime, but work of equal remuneration. This construction of the rule was approved by the session of 1907.²⁶

As the "six-day law" stands in 1908, therefore, no member of the union must work more than six days in any one week if a substitute is available. If he does work seven days, or if he works an amount of overtime for which he receives a sum equal to the wages for a day's work, he is required to give a day's work to a substitute. If a substitute cannot be had at the time, the first one available within thirty days gets the work, and the regular lays off. The "six-day law", as original framed, governed only members of the union who were working on morning newspapers. In 1896 the rule was amended so as to cover all members of the union;²⁷ but in the book and job offices, where there are no substitutes, it is not effective. It is contended that the work in the book and job offices varies so from office to office that the substitute

²⁶ Proceedings, 1907, pp. 157, 190.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 109.

system cannot be introduced.²⁸ The union might require a member who had accumulated overtime to lay off a day on the assumption that work would thereby be given to some other member; but such a rule would occasion great friction and has not been discussed.

The "six-day law" is intended to prevent any member of the union from working more than the normal working week as long as other competent members are unemployed. The union cannot require absolutely that each employee shall work only a specified number of hours each week, for the employer cannot be made to bring on new workers whenever he needs men for a longer time than usual. The union has, therefore, been forced, in order to accomplish partially its purpose, to require the giving of overtime to substitutes. But the "subbing system" is not thoroughly effective as a means of distributing work, since the employers will not permit unemployed printers to serve as substitutes merely because they are unemployed.²⁹ They must also be competent, and, as has been noted above, permission to substitute is not given readily in large newspaper offices. The Printers realize this defect in their system of distributing work, whether voluntary or compulsory. In 1906 it was proposed to give the representative of the union in the office, the chairman of the chapel, the right to determine whether a substitute was eligible to work; but the proposal was defeated.³⁰

Occasionally, in periods of depression, proposals have been made to limit still farther the working week of regu-

²⁸ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 31, p. 529; Vol. 32, p. 259.

²⁹ Different local unions vary widely in the extent to which they secure to the unemployed the right to serve as substitutes, and even in the same local union some foremen are more willing than others to allow substitutes to work.

³⁰ *Proceedings*, 1906, p. 266.

lars for the purpose of giving work to the unemployed.³¹ The reduction of the working week to five days was much discussed from 1896 to 1899 on account of the large amount of unemployment due to the introduction of the linotype and to the depression in business. The International officers strongly favored the reduction of the working week by the local unions;³² but the unions that adopted "five-day laws" soon repealed them, for they found that the unemployed were attracted from other cities. In 1899 the Cincinnati union proposed the enactment of an International five-day rule, and it was submitted to a vote of the membership.³³ By that time, however, the depression in the trade had passed. The displaced men would have been unable, in many cases, to obtain work in the offices under the new conditions. The difficulty of introducing the five-day week in job offices was another objection. The total vote on the question was 14,151 and the majority against the proposition, 4371.³⁴

The feeling against allowing a member to engross employment has found further expression in rules forbidding a member to hold two situations. A regular may some-

³¹ The following resolution introduced at the session of the International in 1887 sets forth characteristically the argument for such limitation: "Whereas it being well known that in a majority of all the larger cities, a large number of our members are out of employment, and whereas, it is well known that the fidelity and loyalty of members known as 'subs' are the mainstay of our organization; therefore, be it resolved, that it is the sense of this body that subordinate unions should as much as possible reduce the hours per day or the days per week that each member may work so as to give the unemployed members a fair chance of earning a livelihood."

³² *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 10, pp. 31, 359.

³³ *Proceedings*, 1899, p. 40.

³⁴ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 16, p. 95. In 1905 the New Orleans union adopted a "five-day law" during an epidemic of yellow fever (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 436). Several of the local unions of printers in German have "five-day" laws.

times work also as an "extra" in another office, or he may even hold two regular situations. The union has always considered such conduct as grasping and as damaging to the chances of his fellow unionists for employment. Rules against the practice have been enforced by the local unions for many years, and since 1894 an International rule has forbidden a "regular holding a situation in one office to accept casual employment in another." Just what constitutes a situation is somewhat difficult to define and the International has expressly left the determination of the question to the local unions. It would obviously be unfair, for instance, to debar a member who held a two-day situation from seeking employment on other days in the week as an "extra." Where the local union, as in New York, requires that all situations on newspapers shall be six-day situations, it is usual to forbid regulars to accept employment in any other office.

Since the introduction of the eight-hour day in book and job offices, complaint has been frequently made that some journeymen printers work in small plants of their own after finishing their work as employees. One union reported to the president of the International Union concerning these cases as follows: "We find that the men work in the daytime and in spare hours solicit jobs, set them up, do the press work themselves and in all respects operate small plants in addition to their regular employment."³⁵ Such members work more than eight hours and, in the opinion of the union, do work which ought properly to go to some other printer. In 1907 the session of the International made it "unlawful for a member . . . to do a day's work in any office and at the conclusion of the day's labor proceed to engage in active work at the case or in a mechanical capacity in another printing

³⁵ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 30, p. 256.

office in which said member is financially or otherwise interested."³⁸

³⁸ Proceedings, 1907, p. 190. It will be noted that the rule prohibits a member's working after hours only as a printer. He may do any other kind of work. The union claims control over its members only as printers.

CHAPTER XIII

TENURE AND PROMOTION

The Printers at a very early time expressed their desire that the hiring and discharging of workmen should be entirely in the hands of the foreman. One of the earliest trade rules enacted by the National Union was as follows: "The foreman of an office is the proper person to whom application should be made for employment; and it is enjoined upon subordinate unions that they disapprove of any other mode of application."¹ The workmen were closer to the foreman, and they disliked the interference of the employer in the affairs of the office.² Even if the foreman was not a unionist,³ he was in the opinion of the men less likely to be influenced by personal motives in hiring and discharging.

Until within a comparatively recent period, the rules of the union did not restrict the power of the foreman to hire and discharge. In 1878 the president of the International in his annual address said: "I have never yet heard the right of the foreman to hire and discharge men questioned, save as punishment for the maintenance of a union principle or on account of differences regarding union matters."⁴ Two years before, in 1876, the session had

¹ Proceedings, 1858, p. 46. In 1896 the penalty for the infraction of this rule, which had hitherto been discretionary with subordinate unions, was fixed at six months' suspension, but in 1901 subordinate unions were permitted to expel or suspend violators (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 19, p. 207; Proceedings, 1896, p. 109).

² If an employer serves as his own foreman, he has the right to hire and discharge.

³ See below, p. 297, for a description of the place which the foreman has come to occupy in the enforcement of union rules.

⁴ Proceedings, 1878, p. 16.

definitely affirmed this traditional policy in a general rule. "The proprietors or foremen of printing offices have the right to employ or discharge help at will, so long as they comply with the laws and regulations of the subordinate unions in whose jurisdiction the office is located, and the discharge is not for maintaining union principles."⁵

The first proposal to regulate by an International rule the discharge of employees was made in 1883, when the agitation against "sub-lists" was at its height. The Chicago local union instructed its delegates to the session of the International held in that year to "introduce, work, and vote for a general law prohibiting the discharge of a member of the union without good cause, and requiring when he is so discharged that good reason shall be given therefor."⁶ The purpose of the Chicago union was not primarily to interfere with the discharging of regulars, although the proposed rule was broad enough to cover all employees, but to prevent the evasion of a rule against "sub-lists" proposed at the same time. It was feared that if the union simply forbade "sub-lists", foremen would discharge all substitutes except those whom they wished to have in the office. A "sub-list" would thus in effect be indirectly maintained. The proposal was defeated by a vote of thirty-five to thirty-nine, although the companion proposition abolishing "sub-lists" carried by a vote of sixty-two to twelve.

The practice of inquiring into the causes of discharges, particularly of substitutes, was extending at this time in the local unions. Hitherto, the unions had interfered only in case the discharge was for maintaining union principles, but they now began to resist discharges made on personal grounds. When cases of this kind came up, the

⁵ General Laws, 1876, sec. 35.

⁶ Proceedings, 1883, p. 53.

local unions found themselves hampered by the International rule which gave foremen the right to discharge "at will." An effort was made at the session of the International in 1888 to secure the passage of a rule which would have placed the regulation of the hiring and discharging of employees entirely in the hands of the local unions. The rule failed to pass, but a resolution declaring that no foreman had "the right to discharge an employee on purely personal grounds" was carried.⁷

The movement for some limitation on the power of the foreman to discharge grew rapidly, and in 1890 the International enacted the rule since known as the "priority law." In its main outlines, the new rule followed the Chicago proposal of 1883. Foremen might still "employ help at will"; but the grounds on which they might discharge were now stated. Incompetency, violation of rules, neglect of duty, and decrease of the force were to be good reasons for a discharge. A discharged employee was to have, on demand, a written statement of the cause of his discharge. Included in the rule was also a declaration that a workman competent to "sub" in an office was competent to hold a regular situation.⁸ The "priority law", as thus formulated and since developed, in the first place, limits the right of the foreman to discharge, and, secondly, it gives to a substitute working in an office a preferential right as against an outsider to a vacant regular situation. For the sake of clearness, the two parts of the rule will be treated separately, although they are complementary and their history has been similar.

Tenure of Position.—That part of the "priority law" which limits the right of the foreman to discharge employees has been altered only slightly from its original form.⁹

⁷ Proceedings, 1888, p. 182.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 66.

⁹ In 1893 the entire rule was repealed chiefly on account of dissat-

The four causes for discharge specified as valid remain the same, and the foreman is still required upon the demand of the discharged employee to give in writing the reason for the discharge.¹⁰ The chief changes have been made in the part of the rule relating to discharges of employees made for the purpose of reducing the force. The rule originally allowed the foreman entire freedom in selecting the employee who should be laid off, and, if no increase in the force was made within sixty days, the discharged employee lost his right to reemployment. By successive modifications, the rule has been altered until, in 1909, it requires that in case of a decrease in the force the person last employed must be the first to be discharged, and, if the force is subsequently increased, the discharged employees must be reinstated in the order in which they were discharged before other workmen may be employed.¹¹ The purpose of these changes was to make it impossible for a foreman to "weed out" his force in dull times, or to evade the rule under pretense of reducing the number of employees.

Before the enactment of the "priority law", the policy of dissatisfaction arising out of the operation of the section relating to the "priority" of substitutes. See below, p. 238. The rule was reenacted in 1894.

¹⁰ Prior to 1893 a new foreman was allowed to discharge "at will"; but since then "incoming foremen" have been subject to the provisions of the rule (Proceedings, 1893, p. 183).

¹¹ On January 1, 1909, the part of the "priority law" relating to tenure of position was as follows: "Foremen of printing offices have the right to employ help, and may discharge (1) for incompetency, (2) for neglect of duty, (3) for violation of office rules (which shall be conspicuously posted) or of laws of the chapel or union, and (4) to decrease the force, such decrease to be accomplished by discharging first the person or persons last employed, either as regular employees or as extra employees, as the exigencies of the matter may require. Should there be an increase in the force, the persons displaced through such cause shall be reinstated in reverse order in which they were discharged before other help may be employed."

of the union, as has been noted, had been to prohibit only discharges made on "union or personal grounds." It was felt that it was an unjust use of a foreman's authority to discharge an employee on account of personal dislike or because of the activity of the employee in the union. To secure the intervention of the union and his reinstatement, the discharged member was expected to prove bias on the part of the foreman. A foreman was at liberty to discharge any member of his force if his purpose was to make a place for a more desirable workman. Under the working of the "priority law", on the other hand, the foreman must be prepared to give a valid reason for a discharge. If a foreman wishes to discharge a workman, he must show, in the absence of some violation of rules or neglect of duty, that the discharged workman is incompetent. It will not be sufficient merely to show that the new employee is better than the old one; but the foreman must show positive incompetency.¹² Where the judgment of a foreman in regard to the competency of a discharged employee is questioned, the foreman is expected to be in a position to "make good his reason for discharge"; mere allegation by a foreman that he considers a man incompetent does not settle the matter.¹³ Of

¹² A case reported in 1906 by the International organizer for the New England district illustrates the distinction: "The organizer was summoned to Hartford to investigate the discharge of a member on the Hartford Post. It was found that the management had discharged one of the regulars in the office—a machine operator—and had hired a late arrival in his place. No charge was made against the member discharged as to his ability, etc., except that the member given the situation, in the opinion of the management, could be used to better advantage in the various departments. A conference was held with the owners of the paper and the matter thoroughly discussed. The organizer insisted that, as International Typographical Union law had been violated, the member discharged should be immediately reinstated, which was done" (Proceedings, 1906, p. 124).

¹³ President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 57, p. 631.

course, if an employee discharged for incompetency can prove that the foreman had ill-will toward him, his case will be inferentially strengthened, but the rightfulness of the discharge rests on the conclusion as to whether as a matter of fact the employee is incompetent.

For only one class of workmen, *i. e.*, machine operators, has it been found practicable to define competency in definite terms. A considerable number of local unions have inserted in their rules provisions stating the "minimum amount of ems by which a standard of competency shall be established for a day's work." An operator who can set in a satisfactory manner the specified amount cannot be discharged on the ground that he is incompetent. In a case where operators deliberately limited their output, but still set more ems than the amount specified as the minimum of competency in a written agreement, the president of the International held that the men could not be discharged for incompetency.¹⁴ Ineffectual attempts have been made to secure the passage of an International rule defining competency for machine operators. The session of 1902 advised subordinate unions to "establish a stated amount of machine composition which is considered a fair day's work,"¹⁵ but this recommendation has since been rescinded. The employers in many places have complained that the "standards of competency" are set too low, and that incompetent workmen are thereby protected from discharge.

¹⁴ The president took occasion, however, to say: "We have no sympathy with, nor have we ever expressed the idea that we are justified in limiting the product of a workman or set of workmen in order that opportunity for more employment for our members may be created. This is a false doctrine and one that leads to disaster and disruption of federated workmen" (President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 74, p. 833).

¹⁵ Proceedings, 1902, p. 142.

It is impossible to define what constitutes competency for other classes of printers, such as job men, "ad. men", and proof readers; and the local unions in each particular case decide the question subject to an appeal to the International president and the executive council. A few general principles have, however, been laid down. It has been recognized, for instance, that a printer who is competent in one office may not be so in another, since some offices insist on having superior men and are willing to pay more than the scale.¹⁶ Moreover, the employees in large printing offices are not ordinarily proficient in more than one branch or "department" of the trade. A proof reader, for example, is rarely able to operate satisfactorily a linotype. The International officials in construing the "priority law" have recognized this condition and have held that a workman cannot be discharged because he is not competent in other branches than the one in which he has been working. It is asserted that prior to this decision foremen when they wished to get rid of workmen showed them to be incompetent by putting them at work in "departments" with which they were unacquainted. At the session held in 1907, the International Union provided that in no case might a foreman "transfer a person to a

¹⁶ An office cannot, however, change suddenly its standard of competency. A Boston newspaper in 1903 wished to fill its office with highly expert operators and discharged eight men within two weeks. The president of the Boston union thus described the disposition of the case: "These men protested against being discharged so summarily, and as president of No. 13 I had an interview with the superintendent. We had quite an interesting session. He stated that as he had a small plant he intended to fill the office with experts. I couldn't see the justice of this course, and told him so. I told him that we were willing to allow him to keep his force up to a good average standard but that we didn't propose to have the old force turned adrift. I insisted that the eight men discharged be reinstated. They were placed back in their old positions" (Proceedings, 1903, p. 64).

department he is not familiar with and then declare him incompetent."¹⁷

Within a "department", however, a workman must be competent to do any kind of work he is required to do. In a case in New Orleans, a linotype operator was given a complicated and difficult piece of work. The time ordinarily required by other employees to do the same work had been from one hour and a half to two hours and a half. The discharged operator took five hours and fifty-five minutes to set up five-sixths of the work. Although he had been working in the "department" eleven years, his discharge was held to be valid. "To sum up this case," said President Lynch in his decision, "it is maintained that a foreman has a right to demand that composing room employees shall be competent to perform work assigned them, and especially that machine operators shall be competent to set copy going on machines, that make-ups shall be competent to make up, and that 'ad. men' shall be competent to set ads."¹⁸

The same considerations have led the president to hold, in several decisions, that the section of the "priority law" requiring "a decrease in the force to be accomplished by discharging first the person last employed" is not to be construed literally. If the foreman wishes to decrease his force of proof readers, he may discharge the last proof reader employed, although the proof reader may not have been the last printer employed on the newspaper.¹⁹ The union, however, is anxious to maintain as

¹⁷ Proceedings, 1906, pp. 266, 267.

¹⁸ President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 61, p. 18; Proceedings, 1904, p. 200.

¹⁹ In a recent case, President Lynch said: "The law does not intend, where the reduction in force is necessary in the hand department, that the reduction in force shall be made in the machine department. If, in the present case, a reduction of force was necessary in the hand department, then the person or persons last

nearly as possible strict priority; and in 1907 it was provided that if local unions do not recognize "departments" by agreement with the employers, no workman may be discharged to decrease the force "while there is work in the office which he is competent to do and to which his priority entitles him."²⁰ Under this rule a foreman who wishes, for example, to reduce his force of proof readers cannot discharge the last proof reader employed, if the proof reader is competent at some other branch of the trade and has a longer standing in the office than some other employee.

Besides for incompetency, an employee may be discharged for a violation of the rules of the union or of the office, or for neglect of duty. The president has held, however, that office rules must be made in good faith and not simply to afford a pretext for discharging employees. They must also be reasonable. If the rate of speed required, for example, is such as to make it impossible for employees to obey the rules, they cannot be discharged for non-compliance.²¹

Although the rule specifies only four causes of discharge as valid, the International president has held that this enumeration is not meant to be exhaustive and that other reasons for discharge will be sustained.²² Where, for example, a foreman discharged an employee for "loud, boisterous, and ungentlemanly conduct" the president held that the discharge was justified.²³ Again, in employed in that department under the law should have been discharged" (Appeal file, No. 66 [MS.]).

²⁰ Proceedings, 1906, pp. 266, 267.

²¹ President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 51, p. 714.

²² "All the reasons on which a discharge can be based cannot be specified in International law. The four principal reasons are given but it must be conceded that there are many offences not enumerated that would warrant discharge" (President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 59, p. 919).

²³ President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 38, p. 317.

a case where an employer discharged a workman who was about to set up in business for himself on the ground that he was canvassing among the employer's customers and acquiring a knowledge of the employer's business which would be useful to him as a competitor, the International president held that the discharge was proper.²⁴

Promotion.—Since the institution of the "subbing" system, it has been customary, as regular situations become vacant, for foremen to promote substitutes. When foremen passed over substitutes who had worked in the office for some time and gave the situations to new comers, or, perhaps, to men who were not working in the office, many members of the union felt aggrieved. This led to the insertion in the "priority law" of 1890 of the clause declaring that "if a workman is competent to sub in an office, he is competent to hold a regular situation." The opinion of the union that substitutes had a preferential right to vacant situations was thus formally expressed; but foremen were not required to give them the situations.

Almost immediately, agitation was begun for the enactment of a positive provision. At the session of the International in 1891, a delegate proposed to add to the "priority law" the following clause: "If a workman be deemed competent to sub in an office after one month's trial, he is competent to hold a regular situation; therefore, the priority of subs must be recognized in giving out situations." This rule, if it had been adopted, would have required the foreman to give a vacant situation to the substitute who had been longest in service. A division of opinion existed, however, among the advocates of this measure as to whether the principle of priority should be observed also by regulars in employing substitutes. Some con-

²⁴ President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 59, p. 919.

tended that if length of service in an office entitled a substitute to promotion, it ought also to give him a preferential right to share the work of the regular. If this view had prevailed, regulars would have been required to give work to the substitute who had been longest in the office, or, if he was engaged, to the substitute next oldest in service. Other members contended that if the principle of priority was thus extended, a "sub-list" would be created, and the distribution of work would be limited. On account of this difference in opinion, the whole proposal was defeated.²⁵

The sentiment in favor of requiring the promotion of substitutes according to priority was too strong to be long restrained by quarrels over the extent to which the principle should logically be carried. In 1892 the advocates of "sub-priority" united in carrying the main issue; and the "priority law" was amended so as to require the recognition by foremen of the "priority of competent substitutes in giving out situations and extras."²⁶ The result was disappointing. Substitutes who had before been allowed to work, although not regarded as eligible for regular situations, were now refused the privilege of "subbing", since the foremen did not wish them to acquire a claim to a regular situation. The depression in business and the introduction of the linotype combined at this time to make the union more than ordinarily desirous of facilitating the distribution of work; and at the session of 1893 the whole "priority law" was repealed.²⁷ A year later, when the rule was reenacted, the section relating to the priority of substitutes was amended into the old declaration that a workman competent to "sub" was competent to hold a regular situation.

²⁵ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 3, no. 5, p. 2; Proceedings, 1891, p. 177.

²⁶ Proceedings, 1892, p. 135.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 155.

With the passing of the industrial depression, the subject was again revived; and in 1899 the International definitely required that substitutes should "be given the preference in the filling of vacancies in the regular force."²⁸ The new rule was variously interpreted. Many local unions construed it to mean that foremen must fill vacancies in the regular force from the substitutes and not with outsiders, but that any one of the substitutes might be selected. Under this interpretation, a foreman might keep an employee indefinitely in the position of substitute. Other local unions required foremen to give out situations to the substitutes according to the length of service. At the session of the International in 1902, President Lynch authoritatively interpreted the rule to require that the "oldest competent substitute" should have "the first situation given out";²⁹ and in 1906 the Union incorporated the substance of this decision in a new rule, as follows: "The competent sub oldest in continuous service is entitled to the first vacancy."³⁰

The specialization of the workmen has been recognized also in interpreting this rule. By competency in this connection, therefore, is not meant general competency, but competency in the "department" in which a situation is vacant. The "priority law" in express terms declares that a member who is competent to "sub" is competent to serve as a regular, but a substitute competent to do one class of work may not be competent to do another. President Lynch, in a letter issued as a circular under date of July 12, 1904, interpreting the rule, said: "It is not necessary under the law for a proprietor to place a machine operator in a position as make-up or proof reader, or to place a proof reader who is competent only as a proof

²⁸ Proceedings, 1899, p. 42.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1902, p. III.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 206.

reader in the position of a make-up or machine operator, or a make-up who is competent only as a make-up in the position of a machine operator or proof reader." Under the system of "limited priority" now in force it is charged that foremen evade the intent of the rule, and by shifting regulars from "department" to "department" make a vacant situation in a "department" in which the "oldest sub" is not competent. It has been urged that the "oldest sub" should be given an absolute right to the first vacant situation, but the Union has not been willing to eliminate the requirement of "departmental competency."

Wherever the "priority law" is enforced in its entirety and without evasion, the power of the foreman to discriminate between merely competent and better men is seriously diminished. A publisher in a city where the rule is strictly enforced thus described its working: "The foreman, under the operation of the priority law is nothing more than a clerk; he has been denied the right to hire help. The act of subbing is a voluntary one on the part of the "sub." He reports on the floor for work and by this act establishes his seniority or priority in the office. When a vacancy occurs, the foreman has no discretionary power. He must put to work the substitute longest in the employ of the office regardless of his efficiency, reliability, or personal decorum. The "sub" becomes the regular not through choice of the directing foreman but by his own act of reporting for work."³¹ This description is not entirely accurate, for foremen are allowed considerable freedom in barring substitutes when they begin to work in an office. But when a substitute has worked for some time in an office his discharge must be "for cause."

³¹ Proceedings, 1904, p. 136.

No part of the union's trade policy has met more serious criticism within the union than the "priority law",³² and the opponents of the rule have brought out with great clearness its more important results as follows:

(a) The power of men of superior efficiency to secure employment in preference to workmen of fair skill is greatly lessened. A workman out of employment, no matter how efficient he is, must begin at the end of the "sub" line and must live by what work he can get from his fellow workmen. His promotion to the position of a regular is not hastened by his superior efficiency.

(b) The incentive to high efficiency on the part of the workman is lessened, since both tenure and promotion depend merely upon a workman's maintaining an average standard of competency.

(c) The employer is less likely to pay superior workmen more than the minimum rate, for, if they leave his service, they must begin at the bottom of the list in some other office. He may pay more to some men in the hope that the higher wage will stimulate to higher efficiency; but he is not forced to do this by the competition of other employers for their services.

(d) The distribution of work is curtailed, for the foreman is unwilling to permit inferior men to "sub", for they would thus acquire "priority" in the office.

(e) Finally, the mobility of labor is decreased. A substitute with "priority" in one office cannot accept a situation in another office without losing his "priority" in the first. He therefore remains where he is, although the other situation may be better for the time being.³³

³² In March, 1908, the New York union requested that the repeal of the rule should be submitted to a vote of the membership and the endorsement of the requisite fifty unions was secured. The proposal was lost, 14,643 members voting for repeal and 17,136 against. (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 32, p. 645).

³³ In some cities, provision is made that a substitute may take em-

The effects of the "priority law" in the directions indicated are as yet slight, since the rule has been fully laid down only within very recent years, and, more important still, only a part of the local unions have applied themselves enthusiastically to its enforcement. In the book and job shops the rule is not enforced, except that discharge must be for good cause. Each year, however, a larger number of local unions find themselves obliged by the pressure of opinion to enforce the rule fully in the newspaper offices. A curious difference of opinion exists as to how far the rule is really effective in preventing the foreman from selecting his force. Unionists in cities where the rule is loosely enforced or evaded regard it simply as a device by which foremen may be more effectively prevented from discriminating against workmen on personal or union grounds. In such unions a foreman is allowed to discharge and hire at will as long as he does not show favoritism. In many other local unions, the full doctrine involved in the "priority law" is accepted. A union, according to this view, should do much more for its members than to raise wages and reduce working hours. Security of position and promotion according to length of service are regarded as aims of the newer unionism. The discharging of one man merely because a better one can be had is looked upon as one of the forms of industrial oppression which it is the duty of the union to overthrow.

ployment in another office for a limited period without losing his "priority."

CHAPTER XIV

THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO THE WORK OF THE TRADE

At the beginning of the nineteenth century a journeyman printer was ordinarily able to do all parts of the work necessary for the production of printed matter, although in the larger offices even at that time some workmen were employed exclusively as compositors and others as pressmen. As the volume of production and the size of the offices has increased, and as machinery and new processes have been introduced, the work of the large printing office has come to be divided among many different classes of workmen. Some of these do work which is so different from that of the printers that they are recognized as belonging to separate trades. The line of demarcation between an allied but distinct trade and a branch of the printers' trade, however, is not always clear. For instance, although the work of the pressman has been generally recognized as a separate craft since the introduction of power presses, even now in small offices the same journeyman who sets type also at times minds a press. But, despite a certain amount of overlapping, it has been readily conceded that the pressmen, stereotypers, and electrotypers, photo-engravers, and mailers are engaged at work for which the printers are not trained.

The work of the printers' trade was for many years clearly defined. It consisted of the composing, the making up, and the imposing of matter. These operations were intimately connected with each other. In order to be an efficient make-up man, for instance, a workman must also be a compositor. So free was the trade from the intrusion of the workmen of other trades and of un-

skilled workers, that the union for many years did not feel it necessary to define the work which belonged exclusively to printers. The jurisdiction of the union was in fact conceived not primarily as extending over the persons who were performing certain kinds of work, but as extending over the persons in the office who were printers by training.¹

Since about 1894, however, the union has enacted a considerable number of rules requiring that only printers shall be employed to do certain kinds of work in the composing room.² The enactment of these rules has been due to such a variety of causes that the action of the union can only be fully understood by examining the circumstances surrounding the enactment of each of the rules. A prime factor in the development of such regulations has been, however, the introduction of typesetting machines. The division of labor in the large offices has been much increased thereby, and it is entirely possible for the workmen in several of the groups to discharge their duties satisfactorily, although they know little or nothing about the work of the men in the other groups. The union is fearful, therefore, of the intrusion into these positions of persons who are not printers, but have picked up some one branch of the trade. It will, therefore, be most convenient in describing the rules to follow the division of labor in the large newspaper offices, where it is most advanced.

¹ See below, p. 246.

² In only one of these cases, that of the machine operators, does the International formally provide that "practical printers" must be employed; but the same end is reached by rules which require that only members of the union may fill certain positions, for, to become a member of the union, a candidate must be a "practical printer." See below, p. 302. The only exception to this rule is in the case of the machine tenders, who may be machinists by trade. See below, p. 252.

The workmen in such offices are classified according to the work they perform as follows: copy cutter, machine operators, machine tenders and their helpers, "ad. men", bankman, proof-press operator, proof readers, copy holders, correctors, and make-up men.³ That certain of these positions must be filled by printers has never been disputed. The "ad. men", who set advertisements by hand, and the make-up men, who put the matter together into forms, do kinds of work which have been fundamental in the trade for generations. The copy cutter, who divides the copy into sections and distributes it among the machine operators and the "ad. men", is in all offices a "practical printer." The policy of the union with reference to the exclusive employment of printers will be described separately for each of the other classes.

Machine Operators.—The chief part of the union's policy with reference to the introduction of typesetting and typesetting machines was the requirement that the operators of these machines should be "practical printers." The evolution and results of this rule have already been described.

Proof Readers.—Until recently proof reading was not considered by the unions part of the work of the printer, although in many offices, especially newspaper offices, some or all of the proof readers were printers.⁴ The question whether employers should be required to employ

³In addition some offices employ boys to carry copy and matter from one class of workmen to another.

⁴In the newspaper offices, the knowledge which a proof reader requires is of much the same character as that of a compositor. In book and job offices, the proof readers who do special lines of work are frequently required to have a considerable acquaintance with the particular subject which they read. The general technical training of the printer is, therefore, of more importance relatively in newspaper proof reading. It was for this reason that printer proof readers were more numerous in the newspaper offices.

printers as proof readers has been under consideration by the union since the Civil War. In 1864 a memorial presented to the National Union by the St. Louis local union recited that proof reading had "become of sufficient importance to justify the employment in many offices of one or more proof readers who are or ought to be practical printers." These printers, in the opinion of the St. Louis union, were "entitled to the rights and protection extended to their brethren employed in other branches of the craft." The National Union found, however, such great "differences in opinion and usage" that it decided to leave the matter to local unions for determination.⁵

A few local unions required that proof readers should be printers; but the majority of the unions, while allowing non-printer proof readers to be employed, required members of the union who obtained employment as proof readers in union offices to retain their membership. This method of dealing with the matter was unsatisfactory. A printer proof reader was not allowed to work for less than the rate of pay prescribed by the union for printers, he had to pay dues to the union, and if a strike was ordered, he had to leave his work; but the union did not set a minimum rate for proof readers, and the union proof reader might be underbid in a union office by non-unionists.

The problem presented was a difficult one. The union was reluctant to allow printers who took positions as proof readers to withdraw from membership, since it thereby lost their support. On the other hand, the unions could not easily enforce a standard rate for proof readers, unless it required that all proof readers in union offices should be members of the union. This would have been difficult since many non-printers were employed as proof

⁵ Proceedings, 1864, pp. 60, 62.

readers. To have forced the discharge of these workmen would have involved the union in strikes. On the other hand, it was against the settled policy of the union to admit non-printers to membership.

The introduction of the linotype greatly intensified the desire of the union to secure the exclusive employment of printers as proof readers. Newspapers were enlarged on account of the cheapness of machine composition, and the number of proof readers employed was much increased. Moreover, a considerable number of displaced unionist hand compositors had found employment as proof readers. The International Union in 1893 recommended to subordinate unions that they should "put forth every effort" to control the proof rooms, especially in newspaper offices, and in 1896 adopted a rule that the International Union should protect proof reader "members from non-unionists underbidding them or offering to work under the existing scale."⁶ President Prescott in his address to the session of 1898 urged that the time had now arrived for definite action by the International. He suggested that the union might require either that all future vacancies in the proof rooms of union offices should be filled with printers or that the non-printer proof readers then employed should join the union. The union adopted the latter plan and provided that, for a period of six months after July 1, 1899, non-printer proof readers of four years' experience were to be admitted to the local unions. After January 1, 1900, all proof readers in union offices were to be members of the union.⁷

⁶ Proceedings, 1893, p. 166; *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 110.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 12, 100; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 14, p. 95. The executive council of the International decided that non-printer proof readers might be admitted even if they had not had four years' experience (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 16, p. 95; Proceedings, 1900, p. 72).

No great difficulty was encountered in enforcing the jurisdiction of the union over proof readers. The question was one of the issues involved in the Pittsburg strike of 1899, in which the International lost control of all the Pittsburg daily newspapers except one. A few employers, particularly in the book and job branch of the trade, objected to being restricted to printers in their choice of proof readers; but in only a few offices was there active opposition. For some time after January 1, 1900, the local unions were permitted, if they saw fit, to admit non-printer proof readers, but they were reluctant to do so except where some special advantage was to be gained. The International in 1901 instructed subordinate unions "as far as possible to control proof reading positions for printer proof readers."⁸ In other words, local unions were advised to admit no more non-printer proof readers. In 1902 the International took the final step by requiring that proof readers to be admitted must be "practical printers."⁹

Machine Tenders.—In large offices the typesetting and typesetting machines at which the operators work are kept in repair by a specialized class of workmen, known as machine tenders. When the machines were introduced, machinists were employed as machine tenders, and many of them were members of machinists' unions. In the new and untried conditions surrounding the introduction of the linotype, the Printers felt that the support of the tenders might be important. In 1892, when only a few machines had been installed, the officers of the Typographical Union proposed to the National Machinists' Union to enter into an agreement for joint action in case either union was involved in a difficulty with an employer.

⁸ Proceedings, 1901, p. 135.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 125, 133, 146.

Negotiations were broken off because the Printers were unwilling to agree to actively aid the Machinists in unionizing the linotype factories.¹⁰ The Typographical Union, however, instructed its subordinate unions to require that in union offices machine tenders must be members of local machinists' unions.¹¹

As the machine came more widely into use and the operators began to be familiar with its mechanism, the Printers began to hope that the tending of the machines would gradually fall into their hands. The case of the pressmen, who without training as machinists manage highly complicated machines, was frequently cited.¹² The International officers were much impressed by this view, and, when instructed by the session of 1894 to "effect a working agreement" with the Machinists,¹³ insisted in the negotiations on the insertion of a provision that members of the Typographical Union should be allowed to work as machine tenders if employers desired to have them. The Machinists were willing to concede that point if the Printers consented to allow machinists to work as operators. An agreement embodying these provisions was

¹⁰ A difficulty at this time in the way of entering into any closer alliance with the machine tenders was the existence of several national organizations of machinists. The most powerful of these, the International Association of Machinists, was not then affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. If the Typographical Union had concluded a treaty with the much smaller National Machinists' Union, it would have been embroiled in the disputes between these unions (Proceedings, 1893, p. 18).

¹¹ Constitution and General Laws, 1893, section 143.

¹² In 1894 President Prescott in his address to the session of the Union said: "In fact, we may expect to see the day when operators will be required to take charge of their machines, the machinist only being called in to repair some serious mishap."

¹³ Proceedings, 1894, pp. 26, 38. By this time the International Association of Machinists had become practically the only important union of machinists and the negotiations were carried on with that organization.

submitted to the membership by the officers of the Typographical Union and rejected by a heavy majority.¹⁴

Several points of friction soon developed between the Printers and the Machinists. As the use of the linotype extended, it became customary in small offices for the operator to tend his own machine, or for one of the operators to tend all of the two or three machines. The expense of hiring a machinist was thus saved to the office. The Machinists objected strongly to this practice and maintained that the work of tending the machines belonged exclusively to machinists.¹⁵ Moreover, the local typographical unions complained that the tenders exacted from employers unreasonably high wages and imposed harsh working conditions, and that, in order to preserve friendly relations, they were forced to support the demands of the tenders. The discipline of the composing room, it was said, was impaired by the division of authority between two unions.

Influenced by these complaints, in 1896 the session of the International repealed the rule requiring machine tenders in union offices to be members of machinists' unions, and instructed the local typographical unions to insist that all machine tenders should "be selected, whenever possible, from the members of the local typographical unions." The local unions were also required to fix a rate of wages for such positions.¹⁶ Machinists who held situations as machine tenders were allowed to retain them, but the

¹⁴ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 6, no. 23, p. 6; Vol. 7, no. 3, p. 2; *Proceedings*, 1896, p. 10.

¹⁵ The local machinists' unions ordinarily attempted to establish the rule that a machinist must be employed in plants of three or more machines. Many of the local typographical unions, at present, forbid a member to work both as an operator and as a machine tender in such plants.

¹⁶ *Proceedings*, 1896, pp. 107, 126; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 9, p. 155.

rules explicitly authorized the employment of printers as machine tenders whenever employers were willing to hire them. Moreover, operators were allowed to serve also as machine tenders. The Machinists were much incensed by this action,¹⁷ and all hope of an agreement was abandoned.

As early as 1894, President Prescott had declared "his firm conviction that the interests of all would be best subserved by requiring that machinists, or machine tenders, should affiliate with the Typographical Union."¹⁸ By 1898 the Typographical Union had come to the same conclusion, and the session held in that year determined to assume jurisdiction over the tenders. Until July 1, 1899, non-printer machine tenders were to be admitted to membership by subordinate unions, and after that date all machine tenders in union offices were to be members of the Typographical Union.¹⁹ Little difficulty was encountered in carrying out this plan, for the Machinists had no effective means of resistance. They advised their members employed as machine tenders to refuse to join the typographical unions; but the tenders were better paid than most other classes of machinists, and they were desirous of retaining their situations. The number of machine tenders was so small that, even if they had all refused to join the typographical unions, the Printers could easily have filled the places with their own members and with non-union machinists. The employers, as a class, were willing and even anxious to have the machine tenders under the control of the Typographical Union.²⁰

¹⁷ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 10, p. 438; *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, Vol. 9, p. 273.

¹⁸ *Proceedings*, 1894, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 12, 133; *Typographical Journal*; Vol. 14, pp. 95, 415.

²⁰ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 15, pp. 36, 53, 150, 373, 386, 456; *Machinists' Journal*, Vol. 11, pp. 331, 402.

The chief purpose of the Printers in assuming jurisdiction over the tenders has been accomplished. They have definitely rid themselves of the difficulties which grew out of the division of authority in the composing room between two unions. But the hope that printers would be employed as machine tenders has been realized only in part. In the larger offices, the tenders are nearly all machinists, and the local typographical unions still admit to membership machinists whom the employers wish to hire.²¹ The union has never attempted to force employers to hire printers as machine tenders. The union has secured, however, for printers, as against the claims of the Machinists, the privilege of tending the machines if the employer wishes to hire them. This has been an important advantage to the typographical unions in obtaining employment for their members in small offices as operator machinists. There has been in recent years a rapid increase in the number of such workmen. The following table shows the number of operator machinists and machine tenders employed in the jurisdiction of the local typographical unions for different years as reported to the secretary of the International:

	1901			1905			1908		
	Union	Non-Union	Total	Union	Non-Union	Total	Union	Non-Union	Total
Machine Tenders....	475	73	548	712	81	793	673	151	824
Operator Machinists	730		730	1186	78	1264	1345	277	1622

From 1901 to 1908 the number of operator machinists, it will be noted, increased about 120 per cent, while the number of tenders increased only 70 per cent. The increase in the number of small plants of one, two, or three

²¹ In nearly all the larger offices, there are machine-tender apprentices, and the machine tenders are now recruited chiefly from these.

machines is likely to make the operator machinist an increasingly important factor in the developing use of the machine. Nearly all of the operator machinists are printers, and it will be noted that the percentage of unionists is very large.

Bankman, Correctors, and Proof-Press Operator.—

The positions which the bankman, the proof-press operator, and the correctors occupy in the division of labor within the newspaper office are alike in that these workmen together serve to connect the four large groups of skilled workers, *i. e.*, the operators, the "ad. men", the proof readers, and the make-up men. The bankman receives the matter set by the machine operators and assembles it into complete articles. A proof is then taken by the proof-press operator. When the errors have been marked by the proof readers, the machine operators make new lines for the ones in which mistakes occur. These are inserted by the correctors.²² The matter then passes on to the make-up men, who arrange it into pages. Compared with the workmen in the larger divisions, the bankman, proof-press operator, and correctors perform highly specialized operations. They need, therefore, comparatively little of the general training of the printer, although the bankman and correctors must possess a considerable degree of general intelligence. The International has never required by an explicit rule that any one of these positions should be filled by a printer. The local unions, however, usually insist that bankmen and correctors shall be printers, but employers are allowed by practically all the unions to employ unskilled workmen as proof-press operators.

²² The correctors are frequently known as bankmen. There are two banks in a newspaper office, "the dumping bank", where the matter is assembled into articles, and the "correcting bank", where new lines are inserted.

Copy holders.—The method of reading proof ordinarily practiced in printing offices requires that the proof reader shall have an assistant, who is known as a copy holder. As the copy holder reads aloud from the copy the proof reader reads the proof and marks the corrections.²³ Under the rules of most of the local unions, employers may hire unskilled workers as copy holders, and the work is usually done by boys. In a few of the larger unions, notably in New York, the employers are required to hire printers as copy holders. Several proposals have been made in recent years to have the International Union make a rule to the same effect, but so far without success.²⁴

Machine Tenders' Helpers.—In a large composing room, unskilled laborers may be profitably employed in doing the simplest part of the machine tender's work, such as cleaning the machines and filling the pots with "metal." Many of the local unions after the extension of jurisdiction over machine tenders prohibited the employment of such helpers. An International rule requiring that all "assistants to machine tenders" should be members of the union was interpreted to mean that all the work of tending the machine should be done by members of the union at the rate of pay prescribed in the scale for machine tenders. The publishers complained that they were thereby forced to pay machinists to do the work of unskilled laborers. In 1905 the International Union declared in a rule that unskilled helpers might be employed for such purposes, but that not more than one helper might be employed for "each fifteen machines or fraction thereof."²⁵

²³ Another method is for the proof reader to read aloud from the proof while the copy holder follows in the copy.

²⁴ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 11, p. 3.

²⁵ *Proceedings*, 1905, p. 231.

Caster Operators.—The monotype, a widely used typesetting and typesetting machine, consists of two parts. The monotype operator works at a keyboard and perforates a strip of paper. This is then passed through the caster, so called because, directed by the perforations, it casts the type. Some of the local typographical unions require that employers shall hire only members of the union to attend the casters, and that the caster operators, as the workmen filling these positions are known, shall be paid at the same rate as machine tenders. In other unions an unskilled worker, usually a boy, is allowed to run the caster under the supervision of an operator machinist. In 1907 President Lynch, after a conference with the manufacturers of the monotype, recommended to the session that unskilled workers should be allowed as caster operators in small offices, but the session declined to make an International rule and instructed the executive council to investigate the matter further and to report its conclusions to local unions.²⁶

From the foregoing description of the rules relating to employment at the trade, it is evident that the Printers are anxious to maintain, as far as possible, that all the work of the composing room is the work of a single skilled trade. There are two reasons for this policy. In the first place, the union desires to provide as much work as possible for printers. Secondly, it is fearful that the trade will be broken up into specialized branches. Many other rules of the union have their origin in the same desire to avoid the breaking up of the trade. Such are the rules relating to the training of the apprentices and the prohibition of the operation of the linotype by apprentices until the last three months of their apprenticeship. The

²⁶ Proceedings, 1906, pp. 204, 269; *Ibid.*, 1907, pp. 16, 251; *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 32, p. 56.

objection to the formation of separate local unions of the workers at different branches of the trade has its root in the same feeling.

An important consequence of the principle that all the branches of work under the jurisdiction of the union constitute a single trade is the rule that a printer may pass from one branch of the trade to another at will. Only once, and then for a short time, has this right been abridged. When the non-printer proof readers and machine tenders were admitted to membership in 1899, they were allowed to work only at the branch of the trade at which they had been employed prior to admission.²⁷ A year later the session of the International submitted to a vote of the membership a proposition to abrogate this provision.²⁸ It was defeated by a small majority, but the next session of the International struck out the provision. In his annual address to the session of 1901, President Lynch held that non-printer members might work at any branch of the trade and his decision was sustained by the session.²⁹ In 1902 it was proposed to debar non-printer members from serving as "learners" on machines, and more specifically to forbid machine tenders from operating machines. Both proposals were intended to prevent machine tenders who were machinists by trade from operating machines, and both were defeated.³⁰

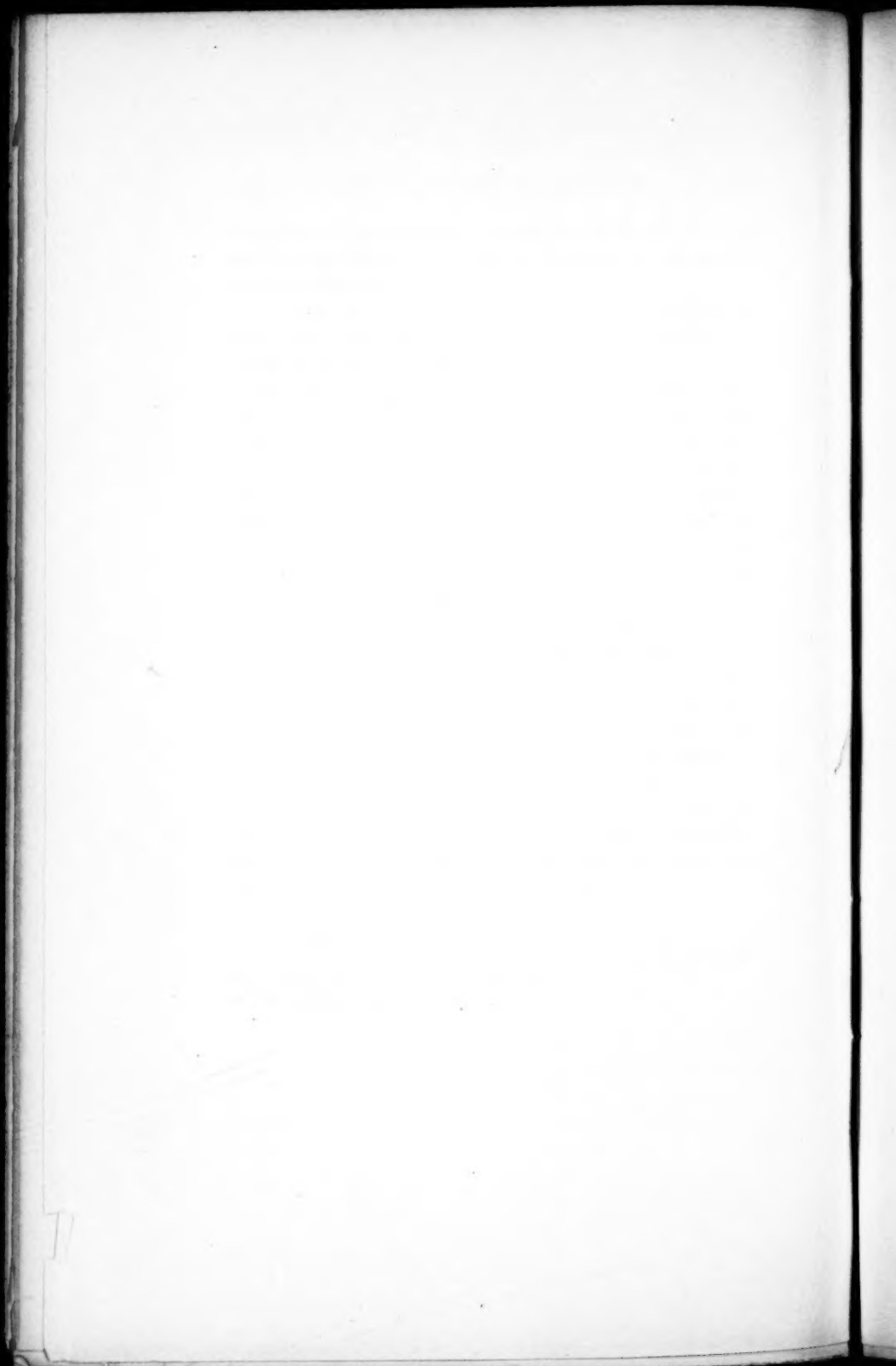
²⁷ Proceedings, 1898, pp. 134, 141.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 13.

²⁹ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 15, p. 195; Vol. 16, p. 95; Proceedings, 1900, p. 72; *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 103, 152.

³⁰ Proceedings, 1902, pp. 116, 131.

PART III
THE ENFORCEMENT OF TRADE
REGULATIONS



CHAPTER XV

THE RESOURCES OF ENFORCEMENT

For the enforcement upon employers of the union trade regulations, the Printers rely upon two resources: (a) the control by the union of the workmen in the trade, (b) the power to divert patronage from employers who do not observe the regulations.

Control of the Workmen.—The possibility of obtaining an effective control of the existing supply of workmen is much greater in the printing trade than in many others, since a considerable period of training is necessary before a workman becomes a competent printer. At any given time, the number of persons available to do printers' work is practically limited to those who are working at the trade. The typographical unions have always shown themselves sensible of the fact that the ability of the union to enforce its rules is chiefly dependent upon its success in obtaining a more or less complete monopoly of the existing supply of labor in the trade.¹

To establish anything approaching complete control is, however, peculiarly difficult in the printing trade on account of the wide dispersion of the industry, for in many towns the printers are so few that it is impossible for them to form unions.² The work of obtaining con-

¹At one of the earliest meetings of the New York society, on July 29, 1809, the following resolution was unanimously passed: "The members of the society are earnestly recommended to exert themselves in augmenting our numbers . . . to the end that we may effect our grand purpose, the raising and establishing of prices."

²The International Union will not grant a charter for a local union to less than seven printers. It has been found that smaller unions are ineffective.

trol of the supply of printers has consequently resolved itself into three parts: (a) the bringing into membership by each local union of the printers at work within its territorial jurisdiction; (b) the formation of new local unions; (c) the attachment of printers at work in places where unions do not exist or cannot be formed.

(a) The task of bringing into membership unaffiliated printers at work within the jurisdiction of a local union has usually been left to the local union. It frequently happens, however, that, on account of weakness, a particular union is not able to bring into membership the printers within its jurisdiction. Since the unaffiliated printers in such cities constitute a source of supply for employers in other cities who do not wish to observe union trade regulations, they are a matter of concern to the local unions as a whole. In the case of the smaller local unions, the officers of the International frequently give aid in their attempts to increase their membership, and in recent years it has become common even for large unions to receive help from the International for the same purpose. A more difficult problem is presented when a local union does not desire to bring into the union the printers within its jurisdiction. In 1898 President Prescott recommended that where such a condition existed the executive council should be authorized "to invade the territory of a local union, suspend all laws regarding the admission of applicants, and proceed to thoroughly organize the city." The International Union up to the present, however, has been unwilling to consent to such a rule.

(b) From the beginning of the century the employing printers, in any time of difficulty with the local unions, have customarily obtained a supply of workmen from the unorganized towns. In 1803 certain Philadelphia mas-

ter printers, unwilling to accede to the demands of the society, advertised for "young men from the country",³ and in 1807, during a strike in New York for higher wages, the secretary of the New York society wrote as follows to the president of the Philadelphia society: "Circular letters have been sent throughout this state, Connecticut, and Massachusetts with a view to supply the daily papers with hands in the first instance and afterwards the book offices."⁴ In 1864 the session of the International declared in a formal resolution that "all printers, associated together in typographical unions on occasions of strikes, invariably suffer annoyance and often defeat through the importation of young men from small country towns, commonly known as country printers."⁵ In 1882 the president of the International said: "The country newspaper office is the real source from which non-union establishments are recruited, and this business has assumed such proportions that the supply is inexhaustible."⁶ The current numbers of the *Typographical Journal* discuss the problem of the "country printer."

The local unions have thus a common interest in establishing new unions and thereby limiting the sources of supply for "unfair" employers. For many years, however, each new local society or union came into existence spontaneously or as the result of missionary zeal on the part of some local union or its members. The organizing of new unions was not one of the functions proposed for either the National Typographical Association in 1836 or the National Typographical Union in 1852. The International Union occasionally recommended that the local unions should endeavor to organize unions in

³ See above, p. 16.

⁴ See Appendix 2.

⁵ Proceedings, 1864. p. 81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 12.

neighboring cities; but until 1882 it did not undertake organization work on its own account.⁷ According to a plan adopted in that year, the International president was to appoint in each state a "deputy", who should endeavor by correspondence to form local unions. The deputies entered upon the work with enthusiasm, and a year later the president of the International commented with satisfaction upon their activity, but pointed out that they were unable to effect much, since no provision had been made for the payment of their expenses and little could be accomplished by correspondence.

In 1884, when the rising tide of trade unionism was bringing many recruits into the local unions, the session decided to employ a "chief organizer", who was to appoint the deputies and direct their work. Also, the deputies were to be paid for the time spent in organizing.⁸ This plan worked successfully. In 1888, when the International was reorganized, it was decided to give the president charge of the organizing work. Other changes were also made in the system. The territory within the jurisdiction of the International was divided into seven districts; and it was provided that an "organizer" should be elected yearly for each district by the delegates from the local unions in that district who were present at the session of the International Union. The

⁷ The more aggressive members had often urged unavailingly the desirability of united action in this direction. A resolution presented to the session in 1877 provided for the employment of a paid organizer who "should personally visit large cities and towns where no unions exist, and by distributing tracts containing our principles endeavor to arouse a union sentiment throughout the country that will bring all the printers within our jurisdiction into one fold." The committee to which the proposal was referred approved the aim of the resolution, but was unwilling to recommend an increase in taxation to provide the necessary funds. In 1878 the question was again discussed and a similar conclusion reached.

⁸ *Proceedings, 1884*, pp. 75, 76, 77.

organizers have always been chiefly occupied, as the agents of the executive council, in settling disputes between local unions and employers, and spend only a small part of their time in forming unions. The changes from time to time in the method of appointment and in the number of organizers have consequently been made almost solely with a view to increasing the efficiency of the staff as agents in conducting negotiations.⁹ Moreover, the organizers are selected with reference to their ability as negotiators rather than as propagandists. It has been suggested at times that better results would be achieved if the work of organizing were committed to a separate staff. In 1892 and 1894 President Prescott urged unavailingly the appointment of a travelling organizer who should devote his entire time to forming new unions and to strengthening the weaker ones. The expense of maintaining separate staffs for the two purposes would be very large, and has never since been seriously considered.

The success of the¹ International in establishing and maintaining a local union in any place is directly conditioned upon the size of the city. Speaking very broadly, it is hardly possible to maintain a local union in a city of less than 10,000 population, unless, of course, one or more of the printing establishments do something beyond a local business. In May, 1900, there were typographical unions in 367 cities within the jurisdiction of the International. Of these, 350 were in the United States. According to the census of 1900 there were 517 incorporated cities of 8000 inhabitants or more in the United States. Even in a prosperous year a considerable number of the small unions surrender their charters, and many members of the union contend that the

⁹ For an account of the changes in the method of appointment of organizers, see below, pp. 329-331.

expenditure of money and energy in organizing and reorganizing unions in small cities is ill-advised; but the officers have always maintained that the "country printers" are thus educated in the principles of unionism, and that constant efforts are necessary to prevent the disastrous effects of their competition.

(c) Plans have frequently been proposed for attaching individual printers in unorganized towns either to a local union or directly to the International. It has been urged that the printers so affiliated would serve as outposts of the union, and in times of difficulty would be of service in blocking the efforts of employers to secure workmen. In 1864 the National Union worked out the first of many plans looking to this end. Printers in unorganized towns were to be taken into "conditional membership" by the local unions. Such members were to pledge themselves, in general, "to do all in their power to maintain and enlarge the union influence which exists in this country," and, specifically, "not to respond to any advertisement or other call from a locality where there is a union without having first ascertained through reliable union sources that such response would not be incompatible with the interests of the craft." The local unions were combined for the purposes of the plan into eight districts. The largest union in each district was to elect a "district canvasser", who was to secure conditional members. Each local union in the district was to assess its members ten cents monthly for the payment of the expenses of the canvasser. Apparently no district canvassers were appointed, but a few local unions did take some printers into conditional membership. In 1865 each local union was made an independent agency for affiliating "country printers", and was ordered to levy a tax of ten cents monthly on each of its members for car-

rying on the propaganda. Few, if any, of the local unions paid the slightest attention to this injunction, and in 1867 the conditional membership plan was abandoned.¹⁰

When the appointment of state deputies was authorized in 1882, they were empowered to receive applications for membership from printers in unorganized towns. If the application was approved by the chief organizer, a certificate of "provisional membership" was issued, and the member was attached to the nearest local union. The provisional membership plan was opposed by many on the ground that it led "country printers" to go to the cities and thus flooded the labor market.¹¹ As a matter of fact, from 1884 to 1887, only 111 certificates were issued.¹² A better founded objection was that expelled members could readily obtain readmission to the union if they were at work in unorganized towns. It was provided in 1888, therefore, that the applications of candidates for provisional membership should be passed upon in regular manner by the nearest local union. In 1893 certain changes were made with a view to increasing the number of provisional members.¹³ The chief of these was that such members were no longer required to affiliate with a local union and to pay local dues. Since then, a member in an unorganized town pays an initiation fee of \$2 and only International dues and assessments. He is thereby entitled to International benefits.

The number of members in unorganized towns has always been small. In 1908, for instance, only 150 were admitted, and of these the greater part had once been affiliated and had allowed their membership to lapse. The

¹⁰ Proceedings, 1864, pp. 81-84; *Ibid.*, 1865, pp. 11, 13, 45; *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 9.

¹¹ *The Craftsman*, 1886-1887, *passim*; Proceedings, 1886, p. 21.

¹² Proceedings, 1887, p. 53.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 11.

only advantage a printer in an unorganized town derives from membership is participation in the benefits of the union. The development of International beneficiary features will therefore undoubtedly aid somewhat in increasing the membership in small towns, and the advocates of a highly developed system of mutual insurance lay great stress on the desirability of thus bringing into the union the isolated craftsmen.

Only a very rough estimate can be made as to what part of the workmen in the trade the Printers have been able to bring into the union by the various methods indicated above. The twelfth census of the United States enumerated 155,333 "printers, lithographers, and pressmen." Of these 7956 were lithographers, and 3172 were electrotypers and stereotypers. There were, consequently, 144,205 printers and pressmen. It was estimated by the Pressmen's International Union that 20,000 of these were pressmen and press feeders. There were thus, as nearly as can be estimated, 125,000 printers in the United States in 1900. During the fiscal year 1900-1901, the average paying membership of the typographical unions was 31,600. Two thousand of these were Canadians, a few hundred were machine tenders, and an indeterminate number were printers who had retired from the trade. Less, therefore, than one-fourth of the printers in the United States were in active connection with the union in 1900. Since then conditions have not materially changed.¹⁴

For several reasons, however, the control by the union of the workmen in the trade is considerably greater than the figures indicate. In the first place, the proportion of unionists to non-unionists is much greater in the large

¹⁴ See Appendix 7.

cities. Although an employer in such a city may in time of strike bring in printers from other places, it is not convenient to resort constantly to such sources of supply. Secondly, the unionists are proportionately far more numerous in the larger offices. As a result the union controls more than a proportionate number of the workmen who are skilled in the more highly specialized work of the trade. For instance, in 1908, according to returns made to the secretary of the International, 80 per cent of all the machine operators in the organized cities were unionists; and there are very few machines in unorganized places. Finally, a considerable part of the non-union printers are in sympathy with the aims of the union, and will support it in any emergency by refusing to work for "unfair" employers.

The control of the supply of workmen becomes peculiarly important to the union when a disagreement between a local union and one or more employers occasions a strike. At such a time the unions aim first of all to strengthen the loyalty of the striking members by making some provision for their support while idle. The constitution of the Philadelphia society provided that if a member should be "thrown out of employ by reason of his refusing to take less than the established prices," the board of directors might "advance on his own security and in their discretion a sum sufficient to pay his ordinary expenses." Yet no mention is made of a grant of relief on such grounds. The New York society, however, while it was establishing its first price list, gave strike relief.¹⁵ As its beneficiary activities became dominant, the society confined its relief entirely to the payment of sick and death benefits. Some of the associations formed

¹⁵ On November 11, 1809, for instance, the sum of \$6 was awarded two members "who had been thrown out of employ in consequence of refusing to work for less than the established prices."

about 1830—the New York Association, for example—made specific provision for the payment of strike relief; but others, like the Baltimore society, did not. By 1860 members of the unions had come to regard it as the duty of the union to give relief in case of strike; and since 1885 strike relief has been given in certain cases from the International treasury.¹⁶

Diversion of Patronage.—For many years after the institution of typographical societies and unions, practically the only force brought to bear upon employers was the partial control possessed by the union over the existing supply of workmen. In recent years the unions have laid increasing stress upon attempts to divert patronage from employers who do not observe the union regulations. The instruments used for this purpose have been the boycott and the label.

(a) *The Boycott.*—The use of the boycott as a means of forcing employers to agree to the regulations of the typographical unions was very rare until 1880.¹⁷ About that time boycotts were levied in every section of the country against non-union newspapers.¹⁸ There appear to have been at first a considerable number of union printers who objected to the use of the boycott, and editorials in the *Craftsman* were directed to persuading

¹⁶ See below, p. 327.

¹⁷ In 1881 the corresponding secretary of the International, recounting a difficulty between a St. Louis newspaper and the local union in that city, said: "The union by a system of warfare, which has become noted the past year by the title of 'Boycotting', succeeded in ruining the paper, which was sold under the sheriff's hammer."

¹⁸ On November 1, 1884, the *Craftsman* published a list of twenty-five papers which had been "placed on the general boycott list of all general assemblies of the Knights of Labor." In successive issues of the same journal, boycotts by local typographical unions against newspapers in places as widely separated as St. Louis, Toronto, New Orleans, New Haven, and Kansas City were chronicled.

them that it was a useful and rightful instrument.¹⁹ The boycott which excited the widest interest at this period was that levied against the New York *Tribune*. At the session held in 1884, the International Union adopted the following resolution: "Due notice is hereby given to the Republican party and its leaders . . . that no union man under the jurisdiction of the Typographical Union will support said party or its presidential nominee if countenance is given or support extended to said *Tribune* while that paper is under the control of Whitelaw Reid."²⁰ The election of President Cleveland in 1884 was claimed by some members as a victory for the union. Since that time the boycott has been used frequently by the Printers.

The boycott is ordinarily effective in direct proportion to the number of trade unionists in the locality and the feeling of solidarity which exists among them.²¹ The sudden emergence of the boycott in 1880 as an important means of enforcing the demands of the unions upon recalcitrant employers was due to the solidarity given to

¹⁹ In 1885 the corresponding secretary of the International said, "Much has been accomplished by means of the boycott and no matter how distasteful it may be to many to resort to this weapon it has proven an effective one so often that all doubts of its potency should by this time be removed from the minds of the most sceptical."

²⁰ Proceedings, 1884, p. 8. The New York union maintained for a time a weekly newspaper known as the *Boycotter*.

²¹ In 1884 the corresponding secretary of the International said: "I wish to direct the earnest attention of the members of this International body to a new element which has entered into the struggle of combined labor to sustain itself against the onslaught of capitalistic cupidity. I refer to what is generally known as boycotting. Within a few years past this force has achieved great and decisive victories for our craft, and numerous instances might be cited wherein if dependence were placed entirely upon our own resources and without the aid of others our cause would have been utterly lost."

the trade-union movement by the rapid growth of the Knights of Labor. With the decline of the Knights in numbers and their estrangement from the trade unions, the boycott lost much of its power. The Printers have probably been able to use the boycott more effectively than any other union, and they have had therefore a direct interest in building up labor federations.²² Where the local labor federations are active and strong, as in the well organized mining and industrial towns of the Middle West, the boycott is a powerful weapon in the hands of the local typographical unions.²³

The boycott is not nearly so effective against book and job offices as against newspapers. The loss of the patronage of trade unionists would seriously lessen the circulation of many newspapers, and hence impair their power to attract advertising patronage. On the other hand, the patrons of the book and job offices are chiefly

²² Since 1885 it has been an accepted principle that a local typographical union may discipline its members by fine or expulsion for willful violation of a boycott levied by a local union of another trade which has been endorsed by the local printers' union (Proceedings, 1885, p. 53).

²³ The Printers have always resented the levying of a boycott against a newspaper on the ground that its editorial policy is antagonistic to trade unions. The only good and sufficient ground for a boycott, in the opinion of the union, is that the union regulations are not observed. In 1903 President Lynch said: "Our position . . . has been that where a newspaper conducts union departments over which we have jurisdiction, that is all we can ask, and that the editorial policy is something with which we have nothing to do. A newspaper can be favorable toward trade unions or opposed to trade unions and their methods without involving us or incurring our displeasure as a union." Occasionally the local typographical unions have thus been drawn into conflict with local central unions or federations. The executive council of the American Federation of Labor has expressly sustained the position of the Printers; and in 1905 directed the New Orleans federation to remove a boycott levied against a newspaper in that city because it had antagonized the local federation (Proceedings, 1905, p. 22).

business men who are not ordinarily in sympathy with the aims of the union. For these reasons, the boycott among the Printers has been used almost exclusively against newspapers. Where, however, a book and job office is producing books or other printed matter for sale to workingmen, a boycott may force the unionizing of the office.

An account of the most important recent boycott levied by the Printers—that against the *Los Angeles Times*—will illustrate the methods employed and indicate the limitations on the boycott as a resource of enforcement. In 1890 the union printers employed by the *Times* struck, and the *Times* filled their places with members of the Printers' Protective Fraternity. The *Los Angeles* union complained at intervals to the International that the *Times* was actively antagonizing the western local unions by furnishing non-union printers to newspaper proprietors in other places.²⁴ Several boycotts managed by the local union failed, and in 1901 the International assumed charge of the campaign.²⁵

The attack on the *Times* was pressed along several lines. Subscribers were asked to discontinue taking the newspaper. As an aid in arousing sentiment, a weekly newspaper was published by the union and distributed gratuitously. A boycott was levied against the largest local advertiser in the *Times*. Out-of-town advertisers were asked to withdraw their advertising patronage.²⁶ The union aided in diverting contracts for public printing

²⁴ Proceedings, 1894, p. 28; *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 44.

²⁵ In 1902 an assessment of five cents per month for one year was levied on each member of the International for the prosecution of the boycott. Grants in aid have also been made from the International treasury. A total of about \$50,000 had been expended by the International for this purpose up to September, 1908.

²⁶ Proceedings, 1902, pp. 148-150. Members of local unions throughout the country were asked through the *Typographical*

from the *Times* to its competitors.²⁷ Mr. W. R. Hearst was requested by International President Lynch to begin the publication of a competing newspaper in Los Angeles, and in December, 1903, the Los Angeles *Examiner* made its appearance.²⁸

As a result of the campaign, the agent of the union claimed that there had been a decrease in the *Times's* out-of-town advertisements, but admitted that the union had not been able to affect greatly its local advertising patronage. The *Times* was supported by a strong and active "merchants' and manufacturers' association", and the boycott became the central point in a bitter conflict between the trade unions and the employers' association. Partly as a result of the activity of this association and partly as a result of other conditions, the trade unions in Los Angeles have for some years been weak. It became clear after a four years' struggle that the Printers were not likely to be successful in their boycott unless the whole trade-union movement in Los Angeles could be strengthened. In 1907 the session of the International instructed the executive council to ask the American Federation of Labor to aid in organizing the other trades in Los Angeles, and at the session of the Federation held in Norfolk in November, 1907, it was decided to levy an assessment of one cent per member on each of the affiliated unions in order "to combat the work of the manufacturers' associations in Los Angeles and other places where similar conditions exist." All the *Journal* to write to certain advertisers whose goods are sold in all localities, and to request them not to patronize the *Times*.

²⁷ A member of the city council who voted to award a contract to the *Times* was, partly on that account, "recalled" by petition, the first use of the "recall" in the United States (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 25, pp. 148, 361; Vol. 26, p. 113).

²⁸ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 26, p. 552; Proceedings, 1904, pp. 34, 48.

national unions which had local unions at Los Angeles were also urged to send organizers there.²⁹

(b) *The Label*.—The plan of placing a distinctive mark upon goods produced by unionists was borrowed by the Printers from the Cigar Makers and the Hatters. On December 26, 1885, an advertisement in the *Craftsman* stated that the United Hatters had adopted a "union label" as a result of a strike at South Norwalk, Connecticut. The Can Makers and the Cigar Makers, in the early months of 1886, solicited through the same journal the patronage of unionists for goods bearing their labels.

In April, 1886, Mr. John Franey, a member of the Buffalo typographical union, wrote to the *Craftsman* that he had made a design for a union printers' label which he would offer for adoption to the next session of the International. The design consisted of the seal of the International Union surrounded in circular form by the words, "International Typographical Union, Instituted, June, 1869." An outer circle contained the legend, "Union printers only employed on this paper." Mr. Franey suggested that, by changing the word "paper" to "book" or "job", the label could be made suitable for book or job work, but it was expected at the time that the label would be used chiefly if not exclusively by newspapers.³⁰ The label was to be imprinted from an electrotype or stereotype to be furnished by the union. The session of the International in 1886 instructed the executive council to prepare as soon as possible a "seal of suitable design to be used on all printed matter desired by the publisher and also to regulate the use of the same so that the product of union labor may be readily known by purchasers, and the demand for publications friendly

²⁹ Proceedings, 1907, p. 234; *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 32.

³⁰ *Craftsman*, May 2 and June 12, 1886.

to the cause of organized workingmen be encouraged."³¹ The president of the International reported in 1887 that Mr. Franey's design had been adopted and had been sent on to Washington for copyright.

With the collapse of the Knights of Labor and the consequent decrease in the solidarity of the labor movement, interest in the label among the Printers decreased. In a few of the larger cities, the local unions issued labels to union newspapers. No attempt to introduce the use of the label in book and job offices appears to have been made. In 1891 the executive council was instructed by the session either to "change the reading on the label or furnish a label suitable for the use of the book and job trade."³² The new label appeared on October 15, 1891, at the head of the editorial column of the *Typographical Journal*, and the officers of the International offered by advertisement to furnish electrotypes of the label for the use of subordinate unions.³³ Since 1891 the label has been of constantly increasing importance to the Printers as a resource of enforcement.

For some years after the adoption of the label the International imposed no conditions upon its use, and local unions were free to prescribe such rules as they saw

³¹ Proceedings, 1886, p. 68. In July, 1886, the Hartford local union adopted a "trademark" to be furnished to all "union papers and printing establishments in the city of Hartford."

³² Proceedings, 1891, p. 112.

³³ The label adopted in 1891 differed from the earlier one chiefly by the omission of the outer circle containing the words, "Union printers only employed on this paper." The seal of the union was retained as a centerpiece. This was surrounded by an oval with intersecting panels. The present label is essentially the same in form but somewhat simplified (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 3, no. 8, pp. 3, 7). Since 1893 there has been issued also an allied printing trades council label for use on printed matter which is the product of the Printers and workmen belonging to one or more of the other printing trades.

fit.⁸⁴ It appears always to have been understood, however, that the label should be granted only to offices employing none but unionists. Since 1898 the rules of the International have expressly provided that labels can be granted only to "such employing printers as fully comply with the rules and regulations of the International Typographical Union and said local unions or subordinate bodies." A local union, for example, can not issue the label to employers who do not observe the eight-hour rule. In 1902 the session of the International provided also that a local union might not grant the use of the label if the minimum weekly wage provided by its scale was less than \$10. In 1907 the minimum rate was raised to \$12.⁸⁵

Until very recently the task of increasing the demand for the label was imposed entirely upon the local unions. Although the International officers from 1894 to 1900 repeatedly advised that considerable sums should be spent in advertising the label, the session steadily refused to expend International funds for that purpose.⁸⁶ In 1901 President Lynch began systematic efforts to incite the local unions to a more active propaganda for the use of the label, and instructions and plans for advertising the label were furnished. The interest thus aroused led the session of 1903 to authorize the executive council to

⁸⁴ The label is issued only through local unions and allied printing trades councils. It follows that offices which are not within the jurisdiction of a local union cannot use it. The president of the International in 1903 expressed the belief that, by issuing the label to such offices direct from International headquarters, a large increase in membership might be effected and many offices in small towns unionized. In 1904, however, the executive council reported that it was unable to devise a satisfactory plan for securing the observance of union regulations in towns where there were no local unions.

⁸⁵ Proceedings, 1902, pp. 16, 122; *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 247.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 9.

devise a plan for a "national label fund"; but, in view of other increases in expenditure at the time, the council believed that it would be unwise to present to the membership a proposal for an assessment for a label campaign.⁸⁷ The first large International expenditures for the label propaganda were made during the strike for the eight-hour day in 1905-1907, when the local unions were furnished with enormous quantities of printed slips known as "stickers." These were distributed to members and other interested persons, who were asked to attach one to any piece of printed matter without the label which came into their hands, and to return it to the issuer. On the "sticker" was a notice that the piece of matter to which it was affixed was returned because it did not bear the label. The session of 1907 indorsed the action of the officers in thus inaugurating an International propaganda;⁸⁸ and in 1908 the International president was authorized to employ a label agent who should devote his time to the campaign.

The use of the label by the Printers as a means of directing the patronage for goods to union offices differs in an important particular from its use by other trade unions. The labels of the Hatters and Cigar Makers are primarily intended to enable a purchaser to identify union-made goods. The chief purpose of the Printers' label, on the other hand, is to indicate to others than the customer that the work was done in a union office. This difference grows out of certain peculiarities of the demand for printed matter. Roughly speaking, we may say that newspapers, magazines, and books are produced for sale, while other kinds of printed matter are executed either for the use of the customer of the printing

⁸⁷ Proceedings, 1902, p. 15; *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 174; *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 128.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 246.

office or for free distribution. It has been found that the boycott is a far more effective device than the label in diverting patronage from newspapers and magazines. The use of the label on books has never been of importance, although the publishers of some subscription books which appeal particularly to the working classes have found it desirable to use the label.

The demand for printed matter intended for the immediate use of the customer or for free distribution does not come largely from trade unionists. The Printers' label, therefore, if it were merely a mark of identification for the customer, would have comparatively little effect upon the direction of this patronage. The trade unions and some lodges and associations have the label placed on their printed matter because they wish to aid the Printers in enforcing their trade regulations. Under such circumstances a customer is able to make sure that his patronage goes to union offices by requiring that the label shall be placed on his printed matter. The Printers' label is, therefore, an aid to the customer in distinguishing union from non-union offices, but it is not an indispensable device for this purpose as the label is in the case of hats and cigars, where the goods are not made to order. A customer may ascertain without the test of the label whether the printing office which he patronizes is or is not a union office.

The Printers' label is chiefly useful as a device for influencing the patronage of those customers of printing offices who intend to distribute printed matter. Such customers, if they wish to conciliate trade union sentiment, may be influenced to ask that the label be placed on their printed matter. The "sticker" has, therefore, logically become the chief instrument in the propaganda for the use of the label. It calls the attention of the issuer

of printed matter to the fact that he has not shown his friendliness to organized labor and is in effect a veiled threat of boycott. The label is on this account usually found on the circulars of candidates for public office,³⁹ on baseball tickets and baseball advertising, and on the advertisements of shows. In 1908 the first vice-president of the International made a vigorous effort to induce certain insurance companies to have their printing done in union offices. In all these cases, the real force depended upon to secure the use of the label, and, as a result, patronage for union offices is the fear on the part of the distributor of printed matter that if he does not use the label he will lose the patronage of unionists.⁴⁰

³⁹ In 1908 the International Union adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, that all candidates for public office be required where practicable to have the union label on all their business as well as political printing." This on consideration appearing an extreme requirement, the resolution was amended by the substitution of "requested" for "required" (Proceedings, 1908, p. 246).

⁴⁰ A case cited in the *Typographical Journal* (Vol. 30, p. 234) will serve as an illustration. A manufacturer of musical instruments conducted also a non-union printing office. "Stickers" were sent to the musicians' unions throughout the country with the request that they return the advertising matter of the manufacturer with "stickers" attached. By this means, the printing office was unionized.

CHAPTER XVI

THE UNION OFFICE

The Printers have gradually developed the policy of not permitting the employment of their members, or, since its introduction, the use of the label, except in those offices in which (a) the trade regulations of the union are recognized by the employer, and (b) in which, also, all workmen over whom the union claims jurisdiction are members of the union. Such offices are known as union offices, and the rule restricting the employment of members and the use of the label to union offices is known as the union office rule.

The rule is not a trade regulation but a device of enforcement. By this method of using the resources described in the preceding chapter, the union aims more effectually to secure the enforcement of its trade regulations. The real significance of the rule can be best understood by considering it from the point of view of the employer. In effect, the union says: "Unless you agree as an employer to observe the trade regulations of the union, and also to hire only members of the union, you cannot hire any of its members or use the union label."

The early typographical societies had a partial control of the workmen in the trade, but their method of using this resource to enforce their trade rules was totally different from that of the typographical unions of the present day. The trade rules of the societies were binding upon their members but not upon employers. The societies did not aim to regulate the conduct of the employer's office except in so far as it might be affected by the

adherence of members to society rules. Whether the office in its relations with employees other than members of the society followed these regulations or not was a matter of no concern. The theory on which the early societies acted was that if a considerable number of journeymen agreed among themselves to obey certain trade rules, they could thereby favorably affect the conditions of employment in the trade.

The societies found this plan defective in important particulars. Their primary trade rule was the requirement that members should not work for less than a certain rate of pay; but it was found that non-members working at the trade cut the rate and made the maintenance of the society's price list difficult. On May 16, 1807, a committee of the Philadelphia society, appointed to inquire into the "present state of the art and into some irregular practices", reported that the prices received by master printers were less than had been customary six years before, and attributed the fall largely to the fact that many unaffiliated journeymen were working below the society rates. The competition had become so severe that the committee believed the prices for journeymen's labor were about to be generally reduced. They suggested that a conference should be held with the master printers, and such changes in prices made "as the nature of the times may require, and enable employers in all cases to give the preference, and, if possible, never to employ any others than members of this institution, or at least none but men who have served a regular apprenticeship." This proposal was so much at variance with the policy of the society that it was rejected by the board of directors. A proposal to debar from future membership those persons who were working below the established prices was also defeated. A committee of

the New York society reported similarly in 1810 that in certain offices persons were working at rates below that established by the society. The only action taken was to draft a circular letter to master printers "on the subject of such persons as are generally denominated half-way journeymen."

The method of enforcement through the members as individuals was even more defective when applied to the only other trade regulation which the early societies sought to enforce, that relating to apprenticeship. As has been already noted, both the Philadelphia and New York societies objected strongly to the practice, common at the time, of setting full grown men to work at press as "companions" with experienced workmen. On December 16, 1803, the following resolution was adopted by the Philadelphia society: "Whereas several employers have taken laborers at press, and thereby the business has been materially injured; therefore, resolved, that no member of this society shall be permitted to work at press with any person who is not regularly bred (bound apprentices, till 21 years of age, excepted) under penalty of expulsion." On November 16, 1808, the society forbade any of its members to "teach or assist in teaching any person in the art of printing, who may have arrived at the age of eighteen years." The New York society provided in like manner that none of its members should "take with him as a companion at press a person who is of full age with a view of learning him the business, under the pain of expulsion." The societies did not gain their end by these rules. Every one of their members might and perhaps did refuse to teach such persons, and yet they were taught the trade in the same offices by non-society workmen.

Both societies realized that the carrying out of their

plans demanded the enforcement of their trade rules upon all the workmen in the office. They might have reached this end in either of two ways. The employer might have been required, on pain of losing access to the labor supply controlled by the society, to employ only members of the society. All the workmen would then have been bound by a common rule. Or the employer might have been required, under the same penalty, to recognize the society rules as binding upon him as an employer. The proposal of the committee of the Philadelphia society in 1807, noted above, looked to the first solution—the exclusive employment of society printers. But the immediate development was in the second direction.

An abortive attempt to enforce upon the employers the payment of the society rate to all employees can be traced in the minutes of the New York society. On July 22, 1809, the society adopted the following by-law: "Neither shall he [a member of the society] engage or continue when there is a journeyman working for less than the established prices." When, however, the society attempted to enforce its scale of October 28, 1809, the members were reluctant to leave their situations merely because other workmen in the same office were not receiving the society rate;¹ and, on November 18, the rule was suspended. On December 30 the board of directors amended the rule by adding the following clause: "provided that the board of directors shall have procured him a situation equally as good as the one which he might have obtained or would continue to hold." The society

¹ One case is recorded in which this occurred. On December 2, 1809, certain members of the society who had been employed in the office of the *Public Advertiser* complained that "one Mr. Scherier had taken a situation at that office for less wages than the society had established, notwithstanding they had informed him of the necessity they should be under of leaving their situations if he persisted in his purpose."

rejected this amendment, but refrained from enforcing the rule; and on June 16, 1810, "the article respecting members being employed in an office where there was a man working for less than the established price" was finally repealed.

It is impossible, on account of lack of data, to trace the change; but in the constitution of the Baltimore society, adopted in 1832, a new policy is set forth in the following rule: "No member under forfeit of membership shall work in an office where a boy, not an original apprentice of that office, is employed for less than the list of prices demands unless the boy so employed is under seventeen years of age or shall have come from an office the proprietor of which shall have deceased or declined business; nor shall any member, under the same forfeiture, work in an office where any person or persons are employed for less than the list of prices calls for."² The trade regulations of the Baltimore society were not binding merely on the members of the society but also on the employer. If he did not obey in the conduct of his business the trade rules, he could not employ the members of the society.

Whether or not it is practicable for a local union to enforce its trade regulations directly upon the employer, depends upon its strength. If the union is weak, the maintenance of a rule debarring members from employment in offices where the trade regulations are not obeyed will ordinarily be impossible. Under such circumstances, the unions revert, as a rule, to the method of enforcement of the early societies, and the members are allowed to work in any office, provided they do not personally disobey the union rules. Under such circumstances, the only trade rule enforced upon a member is the require-

² Constitution of the Baltimore Typographical Society (Baltimore, 1832), Art. XI.

ment that he shall not work below a certain rate of pay. The unions cannot maintain rules relating to apprenticeship, hiring and discharging, the use of machinery, etc., except by enforcing them directly upon the employer.

It can hardly be said that for any definite period in the union's history it was the accepted policy to require merely that the employer should obey the union trade regulations. The plan of requiring in addition the exclusive employment of unionists is, as will be shown later, almost as old. Some unions, however, contented themselves for years with the simpler requirement. These unions distinguished offices into "fair" and "unfair." A "fair" office was one in which the employer observed the trade regulations of the union, although he might employ non-unionists.³ If, however, a local union is strong enough to enforce its trade rules directly upon the employer, it is usually able to secure also the exclusive employment of unionists and the additional advantages in enforcement which accrue therefrom.

Even in the early societies, there were rules intended to secure the employment of society members in preference to non-affiliated journeymen. From the foundation of the Philadelphia society, its officers were required to subscribe to a pledge that they "would procure employment for any member or members of the society in preference to any other when occasion requires." At a meeting of the directors on February 21, 1807, a resolution was adopted making any member liable to expulsion who procured employment for any non-member "in preference and knowing at the time of the procuring of such employment." Members were arraigned on various occasions on the charge that they had violated the rule.⁴ In

³ For a long period a "closed office" among the Printers was one in which unionists might not work.

⁴ On September 5, 1807, it was proposed unsuccessfully at a meet-

the same way, every member of the New York society promised at his admission to procure employment for a fellow member in preference to an outsider. Such rules were practically useless, and complaints that members did not obey them were frequent.⁵

The associations of printers formed about 1830 were more insistent on excluding non-unionists from employment. The New York Typographical Association in 1833 required its members "to inform strangers who come into the offices where they are employed, of the established prices, and also of the existence of the association and of the necessity of becoming members." In 1842, when the Baltimore society was reorganized, the following rule was adopted: "Every person working at the business will be required to make application to join this society, within one month from the time of his commencing work at any office in the city . . . On the refusal or neglect of any to comply with the regulations contained in the foregoing sections or in the case of the rejection of the applicant . . . *the members of this society shall cease to work in any office where such person may be employed.*"⁶

The rule requiring the exclusive employment of unioning of the board of directors that membership cards should be issued, and that persons without cards should not be informed of vacant situations.

⁵On March 30, 1816, a committee of the New York society noted "with the deepest regret and mortification a relaxation on the part of some individuals who, regardless and in violation of the solemn pledge they have given of assisting each other, act with the utmost indifference and often give strangers that preference which is pledged to a brother member." In 1835 a committee of the Columbia society declared that the promise to procure employment for a member of the society in preference to any other person had been "but loosely observed."

⁶Constitution of the Baltimore Typographical Society (Baltimore, 1842), Art. VI, secs. 1, 3.

ists, now ordinarily known as the "closed shop" rule, has been generally enforced by the local unions since about 1850; but there have always been some unions which allowed their members to work with non-unionists. In 1871 the International Union recommended to the subordinate unions that they should "instruct their members, as far as practicable, to refuse to work in offices where non-union printers are employed." But in 1876 a resolution introduced at the session of the International Union, condemning "the practice of allowing non-union men to work in the same department as union men", was defeated.⁷ Naturally, in times of depression the ability of the unions to enforce the closed shop rule has been less; and at one time or another almost all the local unions have allowed their members to work in "open" offices. The rule has been in the past far more generally enforced in newspaper offices than in book and job offices.

There has been, however, throughout the whole period since 1850, a gradually increasing insistence upon the closed shop rule. Although it was not made one of the "general laws" until 1899, the International has proceeded for years on the tacit assumption that the local unions allow their members to work only in union offices. The International trade regulations are intended to apply only to such offices;⁸ and the International defense fund is not used, except in very rare cases, to pay strike relief to members who have been working in an open office and have been "called out."⁹

⁷ Proceedings, 1871, p. 70; *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 61.

⁸ Here and there through these rules, appear such expressions as "in union offices" or in "offices under the jurisdiction of the union."

⁹ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 19, p. 446; Vol. 27, p. 441. In 1904 the International president said: "The parent body (in this case) declined to pay strike benefits and this is the usual policy where men are called out of 'open' offices. A local union, however, can close an 'open' office at any time and call out its members employed

The chief motives which have led the Printers to insist upon the exclusive employment of unionists have been:¹⁰ (1) to secure, as far as possible, the exclusion without friction of certain classes of workmen from employment at the trade; (2) to increase the number of unionists by making the acquirement of union membership a condition of employment.

(1) *As a Method of Exclusion.*—The union wishes, first of all, to exclude from employment at the trade those members of the union who have disobeyed its rules.¹¹ The desire to make expulsion from membership a weighty penalty is common to all trade unions, since thereby they are aided in securing the loyalty of their members. The fear of social ostracism by fellow workmen is a powerful incentive to obedience.¹² Reluctance to lose the right to participation as a beneficiary in accumulated funds may also have a strong deterrent influence on members who are tempted to disobey. But the heaviest penalty which the union can contrive is the exclusion of the of-
therein. Members work in an 'open' office as a privilege and not as a right, and the privilege may be revoked at any time by the local union" (President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 61, p. 23). To call men out of a union office, a regular mode of procedure is prescribed.

¹⁰ The closed shop rule has also been a powerful factor in binding the local unions into a national organization. The effectiveness of the card system as a unifying instrument was directly dependent upon the exclusion of non-members from employment. See above, p. 48.

¹¹ At times, also, printers who were not members have been "ratted" because in a strike they have taken the places of unionists.

¹² The secretary of the New York society, in proposing in 1809 an exchange of the names of members who had been expelled for violation of the rules, said: "There is nothing which acts more powerfully on the human mind than shame. It makes the coward bold, the miser generous, and it is to be hoped that it will ever deter a journeyman printer from conducting himself unworthily toward his brother when innate principle is wanting."

fender from employment at the trade. Although the Printers have never been in control of enough offices to make it impossible for an expelled member to find work somewhere, they have often been sufficiently in control of certain classes of employment, or of employment in certain localities, to make a member hesitate on purely prudential grounds to "rat."

In 1816 the Albany society reported to the New York society the names of five printers who had "ratted" in Albany, and expressed its willingness to coöperate with the other societies in "the furtherance of all lawful measures" for "holding up to contempt" persons who "endeavored to defeat the objects of such associations." One of the printers thus denounced—a Mr. Bingham—came to New York, and a meeting of the "journeymen printers of New York" was held to consider his conduct. The meeting, which was called by the New York society, appears to have been in doubt as to the proper course to pursue, and, after some correspondence with the Albany society, the New York society passed the following resolution: "Resolved that those members who are now working in the office with Mr. Bingham be at liberty to retain their situations."

There is evidence that, even before the establishment of the closed shop rule, the principle had become well settled among the Printers that unionists were not to work with expelled members if they could avoid it.¹³ In 1836 in a letter from the secretary of the Philadelphia association to the Columbia society, the following passage

¹³ Mr. Thurlow Weed, in his *Autobiography* (p. 86), in describing his experiences at Albany in the year 1821 says: "I obtained, however, two days afterward a situation . . . where all went smoothly something over a month; when in obedience to a resolution of the Typographical Society the journeymen struck, not for higher wages but because a rat had been employed in our office."

occurs: "You say 'suppose rats were to come to Philadelphia and procure employment, would you work with them even supposing they receive the wages?' We answer, whatever objection we may have to working in the same office with rats, still we are compelled to do it. But because we are compelled to do so, we do not think we have deviated from the path of honor nor do we believe it is a fair inference to place us upon a level with them. Honor cannot be tarnished by compulsory contact. You are as much the creatures of circumstances as other men."¹⁴

To carry out the exclusion of any class of persons by refusing to work with them, although at the same time working with other non-unionists, caused great friction. The adoption of the closed shop rule made the exclusion of such persons automatic. Since the employer had accepted the principle that only members of the union should be employed, each case of exclusion could not be the occasion of a new difficulty.

In recent years, the union has been afforded several illustrations of the value of the closed shop rule as a disciplinary measure. Perhaps the most striking was in 1905-1907, during the struggle for the establishment of the eight-hour day. After the assessment of 10 per cent on wages had continued for some months, a considerable number of unionists in the Government Printing Office at Washington and in the Canadian Printing Bureau at Ottawa, both of which offices had been declared to be open offices immediately prior to the outbreak of the strike, refused to pay their dues. In the union newspaper offices, on the contrary, where the closed shop rule had been rigidly enforced for years, the assessment was paid with regularity.

In addition to expelled members, the Printers also wish,

¹⁴ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 5, p. 10.

as far as possible, to exclude from the trade certain other classes of persons. Exclusion, in these cases, is not sought as a disciplinary measure, but because it is directly necessary for the enforcement of certain trade regulations. If, for example, the exclusive right of printers to do the work of the trade is to be maintained, persons who are not "practical printers" must be excluded. The classes of persons whose exclusion is sought for such reasons will be described in the following chapter.

(2) *As a Means of Recruiting the Membership.*—

There are two aspects to the closed shop rule as a means of bringing printers into membership. In the first place, when the union has once unionized an office, it is able by requiring the exclusive employment of unionists to affiliate with itself every workman who thereafter obtains work in the office. The rule thereby tends to continue a control once obtained. The closed shop rule can be viewed in another aspect as a device for securing the unionizing of other offices, and thereby bringing in new members. If a local union controls a large part of the labor supply, the influence of the closed shop rule as a means of increasing the membership may be very considerable. If, for example, in a community where 500 printers are employed, 400 are members of the union, both the non-unionist workmen and their employers will be at a distinct disadvantage. A non-unionist workman, if he can earn the minimum rate, will be eager to secure access to the wider opportunities for employment which the unionist possesses. The non-union employer under such circumstances cannot discharge his workmen and thus reduce expenses so readily in times when business is slack as he otherwise would, for he cannot easily replace his employees from his restricted labor market. At times, for the same reason, he must go outside his home labor

market, at expense and inconvenience, to supply himself with printers. But just as the closed shop rule is a powerful instrument for unionizing offices and recruiting members when the union is strong and controls a great part of the labor supply, so it is a hindrance when the union is weak. The unionist and the employer of unionists suffer in this case under the same disadvantage of a restricted labor market as non-unionists and the non-union employer do when the union is strong.

The influence of the union office rule is seen in the methods by which the local unions extend their power. If the enforcement of the trade regulations were sought merely through the members, the union could increase its strength by bringing into the union from time to time every non-unionist who could be persuaded to join. Many trade unions with simple trade regulations do carry on their propaganda in this way, but the efforts of the Printers are ordinarily directed, except in the case of a new union or of a disorganized one, to bringing offices rather than workmen within the jurisdiction of the union. For this purpose a local union centers its attention from time to time on a particular employer. Members of the union are, perhaps, sent "under cover" into his office to induce his workmen to agree to join the union. At the same time as much patronage as possible is diverted from his office. If, after a time, a large part of the workmen in the office agree to join, the officers of the union propose to the employer that he shall unionize his office. If he does not, a strike is called, or at least those who have joined the union are required to accept situations elsewhere or forfeit their membership. Whenever the union offices are in need of workmen, the union is especially active in such efforts, since, even if the employer who is under pressure objects and a strike results, the

men "taken out" can be readily placed in situations. If the members of the union are not fully employed, the union will not be so eager to attempt the unionizing of other offices, because, in case of failure, the union will have on its hands a number of idle men.

None of the local unions attempt to enforce their trade regulations fully except in union offices. It is conceivable that a local union might effect an agreement with employers under which the union regulations would be observed in open offices; but this is not done among the Printers. In Boston, where, until recently, the union allowed its members to work in open book and job offices, the agreements between the employers and the unions provided only "for wages and hours." In the agreement made in 1901, it was provided that the specified rates for time work should apply only to journeymen compositors and to women who were members of the union. The agreement of 1904 applied only to unionists.

In union offices, and there only, the union requires the recognition by the employer of certain institutions whose function it is to detect and prevent violations of the trade regulations. These are (a) the chapel, (b) the chairman of the chapel, and (c) the union foreman.

(a) *The Chapel*.—The chapel is a very old institution, and has varied widely in function in different places and at different times,¹⁵ but in structure it has always been a mass meeting with an elected president. The chapel assembles at the call of its president, and takes action on matters which concern the printers in the office. Originally the chapel was a purely social and beneficiary organization, but it developed in England in the eighteenth

¹⁵ The chapel was described in 1686 by Moxon in "Mechanic Exercises or The Doctrine of Handy Works." His account is quoted at length in Hansard's "Typographia," 1825, p. 309.

century into a trade-regulating office meeting. The minutes of the early American printers' societies contain no reference to the institution, and the formation of chapels in printing offices in the United States appears to have been due to deliberate design on the part of the local unions to create in each union office an agency for preventing violations of their regulations.

The New York Association of 1833 provided in its constitution for the establishment in each printing office where its members were employed of "what is technically called a chapel." The chapel was to be immediately summoned when doubts arose "respecting the construction" which was to be given to "any article in the scale of prices." If the employer refused to accept the decision of the chapel, the difficulty was to be reported to the association.¹⁶ At the National Typographical Convention held in 1836, a committee, appointed to consider a "plan for a chapel for the government of offices under the jurisdiction of subordinate societies", reported that "the ends to be gained by their establishment would be more satisfactorily attained by referring difficulties directly to the society or association." The committee thought also that "this course would have a tendency to prevent disputation on trivial matters."¹⁷ Despite this opinion, the unions generally provided for the organization of chapels.

The chapel was chiefly important in preventing infringements of the piece scale. The scales, elaborate as they were, did not and could not provide for all the possible cases which might arise, and an immediate decision of disputed points was necessary. In newspaper offices the chapel was additionally important because it laid down

¹⁶ Constitution and By-Laws of Typographical Association of New York, adopted 1833, p. 18.

¹⁷ Proceedings of the National Typographical Convention, Washington, 1836, p. 7.

the rules for the division of the "fat." So powerful indeed did the chapel become as an organization within the union that it frequently took action on matters which were not within its designed functions. The proceedings of the National Union furnish abundant evidence that until a comparatively late date chapels occasionally declared strikes. In 1881 two members refused to quit work during a chapel strike in the office of the *Detroit Post and Tribune*, and were expelled by the Detroit union. On appeal to the International Union, the sentence of expulsion was permitted to stand, on the ground that the regulation of chapels was entirely in the hands of subordinate unions.¹⁸ In some local unions, the power of the chapel to declare strikes was not fully taken away until the International assumed control of strikes.

The power to discipline their members was also claimed by some chapels. As late as 1890, it was declared as the sense of the International Union that "chapels may discipline by fine or otherwise any member of the union within its jurisdiction for violation of subordinate union law when the offense has a local (chapel) bearing."¹⁹ The president of the International Union asserted in 1898 that this rule was based on a "vicious principle by compelling subordinates to surrender their highest and most important function—their judicial authority—to chapels." He further said: "The composition of our membership and the conditions under which it labors are such that subordinate unions cannot too jealously guard their prerogatives from the insidious encroachments of the chapels, as the supersession of the union tends to disintegration."²⁰ The rule has since been repealed, and in nearly all local unions the power of the chapel to discip-

¹⁸ Proceedings, 1881, pp. 59, 61, 69.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 141.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 17.

line members is limited to violations of chapel rules not in conflict with the laws of the union. Even in such cases, the disciplined member has a right of appeal to the local union.

(b) *Chairman of the Chapel*.—Since the time system of remuneration has become dominant in the trade, the importance of the chapel has greatly declined, although it is still maintained by nearly all the local unions. The presiding officer of the chapel, formerly known as the father of the chapel, but now ordinarily as the chairman, continues to be the official representative of the union in the office. His duty is to report immediately to the officers of the local union any violation of the union rules in his office. The chairman ascertains from any printer who obtains employment in the office whether he is a member of the union.²¹ If he is not, and if he refuses to apply for membership, it is the duty of the chairman to insist that he shall not be employed.²² The chairman also collects the dues from the men in the office.

(c) *The Union Foreman*.—Until recently many of the local unions were reluctant to admit foremen to membership, because it was feared that they would exert an un-

²¹ To facilitate the enforcement of the closed shop rule, about 1860 the "working card system" was introduced. In 1864 the International Union recommended its adoption to the subordinate unions (Proceedings, 1864, p. 79). Sec. 5, Art. IX of the By-Laws of Chicago Typographical Union, adopted in 1866, thus describes the "system": "It shall be the duty of the Father of the Chapel in each office to see that every person therein has a working card; and any member of this union working in an office with a person who has not such a card shall be expelled." Similar provisions appear in the constitutions of practically all the unions of the period, e. g., Eureka Typographical Union, 1869, New Orleans Typographical Union, 1869, Memphis Typographical Union, 1865.

²² Nearly all the local unions allow a non-unionist to work in union offices if he has made application for membership in the union. To such persons, a "permit" is issued until the union acts on the application for membership.

due influence in the unions.²³ The International Union in 1876 refused to require foremen to become members of the union, and in 1881 rejected a resolution requiring foremen to resign.²⁴ The matter was thus left in the hands of the subordinate unions, and there is evidence that, certainly by 1890, the great majority of the foremen in union offices were unionists.²⁵ Since 1899 the International Union has required that all foremen of union offices shall be members of the union.²⁶

The rule has been bitterly opposed by many employers, who contend that the foreman is the representative of the employer in the office, and that by requiring him to become a member of the union he is made to bear a prior allegiance to the union. The union on its side maintains that the foreman can have no conflict with the union as long as the trade regulations of the union are obeyed, and that to these the employer has assented. The advocates of the union's policy also argue that a reasonable and just construction of the regulations can best be obtained by having the foreman a member of the union, since as such he can present most effectively the side of the employer. Moreover, the union points out that the employer is entirely free to select and discharge his foreman since the "priority law" does not apply to the position of foreman, nor to the foremen of "departments" in a large office.²⁷

²³ Proceedings, 1878, p. 17.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 62; *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 50.

²⁵ In 1890 the International president, in reply to the question, "Hasn't an office the right to employ any man whatever as foreman provided only union men are employed as compositors?", said, "Attention is called to the fact that foremen are members of our organization and in union offices all persons employed in the composing room are members of the union." (*Typographical Journal*, Vol. 2, no. 3, p. 4).

²⁶ Proceedings, 1899, p. 24.

²⁷ The International president in a recent case said: "The International law nor any valid local law does not require that the fore-

The insistence on the requirement that the foreman shall be a unionist is due to the number and complexity of the union's trade regulations. Moreover, an increasing number of these rules, particularly those relating to hiring and discharging, regulate the conduct of the foreman. With a non-union foreman, entirely exempt from the discipline of the union, the friction resulting from these rules would cause, in many offices, constant difficulty with the employer. The union foreman is expected to know the rules of the union and to obey them. If he does not, he may be fined, suspended, or expelled. The place of the foreman in the administration of the union's regulations was thus defined by President Lynch in 1900: "We do not expect that the foreman shall represent the union. It is understood that he is engaged by the office to protect its interests and to carry out its wishes and desires. It must be remembered, however, that a union office agrees to conduct the composing room in accordance with union rules. If he (the foreman) willingly violates union law or permits its violation without notifying union authority, he should be prepared to accept the consequences."²⁸ The chapel may also fine a foreman for infraction of chapel rules. If he believes that he has been fined illegally, he may appeal to the local union and thence to the International officers.²⁹

manship of an office should be filled under the priority law. On the contrary, a union office is free to place in the foremanship any printer holding a union card. The foreman of an ad. alley in a metropolitan daily newspaper is one akin in responsibility and peculiar requirements to the foremanship of the office itself. It should be left free from the application of priority laws so that it may be filled or vacated at the will of the office (President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 65, p. 192).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, p. 776.

²⁹ Appeal File B. 13 [MS.].

CHAPTER XVII

ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP

As has been pointed out in the preceding chapter, the exclusion of certain classes of persons from the trade is one of the objects aimed at in the establishment of the union office rule. This exclusion is accomplished by denying such persons admission to membership. In order, therefore, to understand the extent of the exclusion practised, it is necessary to examine the policy of the union with reference to admission to membership. Although the rules restricting admission to membership have been regarded among the Printers primarily as a means of securing the enforcement of trade regulations, there has also been present at times a feeling that the exclusion of persons or classes of persons from the trade is desirable in order to lessen competition for employment.

In another way, also, the policy of the Printers with reference to admission to membership is complicated. If the union controlled all printing offices, exclusion from the union would mean exclusion from the trade, but this is far from being the case. Although printers who cannot secure admission to the union may find it difficult in some cities to secure employment, and in some cases may be diverted to another trade, the usual effect of refusing admission to printers is merely to make it necessary for them to work in non-union offices. The union thereby loses control of part of the workmen in the trade, and finds itself to that extent less able to maintain its trade regulations. As enforced, the rules restricting membership are, therefore, compromises between what the union desires to do and what it can afford to do.

For many years after the organization of the National Union in 1852, the local unions were absolutely free to regulate admission to membership. They were, to use an expression frequently found in the official proceedings, "sovereign in deciding the qualifications of their members." Since, however, under the national compact, one local union had to admit the members of every other union, the diversity in policy among the local unions constantly occasioned friction; and the National Union was led, in the interest of harmony, at first to recommend, and later to enforce, certain rules with reference to the admission of members. By degrees these exercises of International authority have become so important that the theory of local autonomy so far as admission to membership is concerned has been abandoned.¹ The International Union has, however, never attempted to draw up a complete set of rules governing admission. For a long period its policy was to lay down rules concerning the admission of certain classes of persons; more recently, the power of the local unions to reject candidates has been limited by subjecting their acts to judicial review by the International officers. It will be convenient in describing the policy of the union to follow this historical order.

The classes of persons whose admission to membership has been either at times or permanently restricted are: (a) workmen who have not served an apprenticeship to the

¹ In 1891 the International refused to submit to the membership a proposition which affirmed "the right of subordinate unions to pass upon the qualifications of their members." In 1898 the wording of the travelling card and the constitution was changed so that "members of subordinate unions" became "members of the International Union" (Proceedings, 1898, p. 128).

trade, (b) incompetent workmen, (c) expelled members applying for readmission, (d) women, (e) negroes.

(a) *Workmen who have not served an Apprenticeship*.—The early typographical societies held strongly to the traditional view that all printers who had not passed through a "regular" apprenticeship were interlopers.² Since, however, the societies did not attempt to exclude such workmen from the trade, the only result of not admitting them to membership was to weaken the societies. As a rule, therefore, the more militant the society, the less importance it attached to the apprenticeship requirement. The Philadelphia society provided in its constitution of 1802 that no person should be eligible to become a member who had not "served an apprenticeship satisfactory to the board of directors;"³ and the board appears to have required that an applicant must have served an indentured apprenticeship. The Columbia society of Washington insisted tenaciously until about 1836 that candidates should have passed through a "regular" apprenticeship.⁴

On the other hand, the minutes of the New York society show a gradual relaxation in the apprenticeship requirement. On December 23, 1809, the board of directors proposed to the society the following by-law: "No

² In a letter to the New York society, on October 13, 1824, the secretary of the Franklin society of Boston, a purely beneficiary organization, suggested that an alliance among the local societies would be useful in preventing "an overflow of workmen" and "would form a band of those who have served a regular apprenticeship, with all its expenses and troubles, to the exclusion of interlopers who, without any legal claim, deprive the honest man of all the benefits to be derived from the most respectable trade in existence" (Appendix 3).

³ MS. Constitution of Philadelphia Typographical Society, 1802, Art. XV.

⁴ At the August, 1835, meeting of the Columbia society, it was proposed to permit persons who had not served an apprenticeship to

person shall be admitted a member of this society unless he shall have duly and regularly served the term of three years as an apprentice to one branch, namely, either as a compositor or as a pressman." The next general meeting of the society refused to ratify this rule, and the directors modified the requirement to an "apprenticeship satisfactory to the board of directors." On March 6, 1811, the board adopted a resolution requiring candidates merely to make a written statement that they "had worked at least five years at the printing business." From the adoption of this resolution to the incorporation of the society in 1818, the requirement for admission appears to have remained unchanged. Since about 1830 the societies and associations of printers have not made the serving of a "regular" apprenticeship a requisite for admission. Apprenticeship has been interpreted not as a status, but simply as an initiatory period. In fact, many of the local constitutions provide merely that the candidate "must have worked at the business four years."

Nor have the typographical unions ever required, as a condition of admission, that the applicant should have served his apprenticeship in a union office. The membership of the union has always been largely recruited from workmen trained in small towns where there are no typographical unions, and from non-union offices in the larger places. A rule of the International, of many years' standing, sums up the traditional policy of the union in the declaration that "a candidate for membership cannot be rejected solely on the ground of having served his apprenticeship in an unfair office." Some local unions impose a heavier entrance fee upon candidates who have

pay a weekly sum of money for a period, and at the end of the period the candidate was to "be considered constructively to have served the full term and then to be eligible to membership."

learned the trade in non-union offices, but it is not ordinarily the policy of the unions even to do this.

In recent years, however, the apprenticeship requirement has come to be something more than merely that the candidate shall have "been at the business" for four or five years. The increasing specialization within the trade and the consequent growing solicitude of the union to protect its exclusive right to the work of the composing room, described in a preceding chapter, has led the union to define more sharply than hitherto what persons are to be considered "printers." The union insists that candidates for membership must have acquired a knowledge of those branches of the trade which are believed by the union to be fundamental. A local union would not, for example, under ordinary circumstances, receive into membership a workman who had never worked at any branch of the trade except proof reading, nor one who knew only how to operate the linotype. A candidate for membership must be a "practical printer", *i. e.*, according to the official definition, "one who can set type and who has served an apprenticeship in the composing room." The union is reluctant to admit "specialists", *i. e.*, persons who have become proficient in some one branch of the trade without being able to set type.

The local unions, while maintaining, so far as they can, the exclusive right of "practical printers" to employment at the work of the trade, have frequently taken into membership linotype operators and proof readers who were not "practical printers." Special provision was made for the admission of non-printer proof readers when the jurisdiction of the union was extended over proof readers, and the local unions shortly after the introduction of the linotype admitted many non-printer operators. Even now that the jurisdiction of the union over these kinds of

work is firmly established in union offices, the local unions frequently admit persons who are good operators or proof readers without being "practical printers." In time of strike, or in negotiations for unionizing an office, the local unions waive their objections to "specialists" rather than lose an opportunity to strengthen themselves.

(b) *Incompetent Workmen*.—An incompetent workman is one who is not proficient in the branch of the trade at which he works. A strong feeling has always existed in the union against the admission of such workmen. A linotype operator, for example, in order to be readily admitted must not only be a "practical printer", but should also be a competent operator. That he was not also competent as an "ad. man" or as a proof reader would not militate against his admission.⁵ The National Union in 1865 expressed its disapproval of the "practice of admitting persons who have not exhibited sufficient proof of their qualifications as printers;"⁶ and since 1889 the International has formally required that a committee of the local union shall make a "rigid examination as to the competency" of candidates.⁷ As a matter of fact, however, the local committees rarely attempt to determine the competency of the candidate by examination. A few questions, more or less perfunctory, are asked, and a report from the foreman of the office where the candidate is at work is secured; but efficiency is very difficult to define except in wage-earning capacity. If a printer is able to earn the rate of pay prescribed by the union scale, he is ordinarily adjudged competent. In time of strike, the union frequently admits printers to membership who are known to be grossly incompetent. The officers of the International from time to time lament the fact that

⁵ Proceedings, 1874, p. 14; *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 58.

the unions find themselves unable to exclude such printers.⁸

The objection to the admission of incompetent printers rests on several grounds. In the first place, the traditional view persists that a union is an association of skilled workmen. Secondly, it is clear to the unionist that the presence of incompetent workmen in the union makes it difficult to raise the minimum rate. In various ways, moreover, the incompetent workman is a nuisance to the union; he is more frequently out of work, and is more likely to "rat." The officers of the local unions must frequently use their efforts to secure for such men positions which they can fill, and in which their efficiency may be increased.

(c) *Expelled Printers*.—As has already been noted, the power to expel from membership, and thereby to exclude from employment in union offices, is the chief instrument of discipline possessed by the union. This power is vested in the local unions, but its exercise has been increasingly subject to restraint by the International Union. Checks have been imposed, in the first place, on the power to expel, and, secondly, on the power of the local unions to prevent the readmission of expelled printers.

Not infrequently the local unions, actuated by motives of personal feeling or factional hostility, have used the power of expulsion recklessly and unwisely. At a very early date, the National Union remonstrated against such conduct. Although by the National constitution the right of appeal to the National Union from a sentence of expulsion was given to every member, as a matter of

⁸ In 1901 President Lynch said: "The union must control the supply of printers, good, bad and indifferent, if its battles are to end in victory. That is why they are given membership. And often, yes, very often they are taught the trade after gaining the coveted membership" (Proceedings, 1901, p. 11).

practice, the National Union for a considerable time interfered in only two classes of cases: (1) A local union was not allowed to expel a member who had left its jurisdiction and had been admitted to another local union. (2) A local union was not permitted to violate its own rules in expelling a member. Ordinarily the National Union did not attempt to determine whether the offence committed was of sufficient importance to justify a sentence of expulsion; but, in some instances, where the offence was trivial, the International ordered the local unions to readmit the expelled member.

The transference to the International president, in 1869, of the power to decide appeals aided an expelled member in procuring a speedy consideration of his case. Moreover, the presidents held that not only must the rules of the subordinate union concerning trials be complied with, but also that the ordinary principles of jurisprudence governing the rights of accused persons must be observed.⁹ In 1899 the International adopted a code of procedure for trials,¹⁰ which, with some unimportant modifications, remains in force. The International Union has never attempted, however, to specify the offences which may be punished by expulsion,¹¹ although the president of the International has reversed sentences of expulsion on the ground that the penalty was too heavy for the offence. In the main, however, the chief protection that has been given the accused member has been the guarantee of a fair trial.

⁹ It was held in 1882 and has since remained the rule of the union that "where a member has deliberately ratted it is not necessary that he should be cited for trial, but he may be summarily expelled" (Proceedings, 1882, p. 19).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 50.

¹¹ Where the International Union has prescribed a specific penalty for an offence, the president has held that no other penalty may be inflicted.

The questions relating to the readmission of expelled printers have been more difficult to adjust. As has been noted above, one of the chief purposes in the formation of a national organization among the union printers was to secure the barring from every local union of a printer who had been expelled by one. The chief difficulty in the working of this system of national exclusion arose from the fact that frequently a local union wishes to take into membership a printer who has been expelled by another local union. Under the original rule of the National Union, a subordinate union could not under any circumstances admit to membership a printer who came from the jurisdiction of another union. It was proposed in 1855 that a member expelled by one union might be admitted by another union on the payment of \$10, but the National Union refused to agree to such a plan.¹² In 1857 the National Union, impressed by the desirability of making some modification in the rule, provided that, if an applicant from the jurisdiction of another local union made a satisfactory statement, he might be admitted.¹³ This rule gave each union complete authority to admit to membership printers who had been expelled by other local unions. At the same session, local unions were required to transmit to the other unions the names of expelled printers. It was expected that local unions would refuse to admit such persons to membership; but, when their admission appeared desirable, the local unions showed themselves more concerned with their own immediate interest than with the upholding of the principle of national exclusion. In 1860 the National Union adopted the rule, which has since been in force, that a local union before admitting an applicant must secure the consent of the local union from whose jurisdiction he came.

¹² Proceedings, 1855, p. 11.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 27.

This was not, however, a satisfactory adjustment. Local unions in time of strike did not wait to ascertain whether the expelling union, perhaps distant, was willing to permit an applicant to be readmitted, and the rule was constantly disobeyed. Complaints were made at every session of the National Union, and the officers frequently called attention to the fact that the rule could not be enforced. In 1868, for example, the National president said: "During the past year Memphis union, in self defense, in the face of the law was compelled to whitewash eleven rats, and New York union during the conflict with the *World* newspaper was compelled to do the same as Memphis did and receive into fellowship an expelled member of the Philadelphia union." A source of peculiarly bitter irritation was the return of the "white-washed" printers to the unions which had expelled them, where they "flaunted their cards in the faces of those who had refused to have dealings with them either personally or typographically."¹⁴ Now and then, a union thus aggrieved, in order not to be cheated of its revenge, refused to issue a working "permit" and destroyed the card presented by the offender. In 1868 the president of the National Union was authorized to permit a local union to admit a printer who had been expelled by another union, provided the expelling union had refused to give its consent and the president believed that the "general welfare demanded his admission." Every exercise of this power, however, created dissatisfaction and in 1874 it was taken away from the president.

The solution of the difficulty was finally found in the development of the power of the International Union to grant an "amnesty." This power was first exercised in 1868, when, encouraged by the rapid increase in the mem-

¹⁴ Proceedings, 1887, p. 18.

bership, the National Union proclaimed an "amnesty" for three months. During this period, printers who had been expelled were to be admitted on application to any union within whose jurisdiction they were working, without being subject to any "fines, pains, or penalties." The local union was required to "elect such applicant without regard to his past record."¹⁵ Under these conditions some 300 printers were readmitted. Strong objections were made to such a wholesale exercise of the pardoning power; and in 1876 a proposal for another "amnesty" was defeated.¹⁶ On account of the weakness of the union, however, the discussion as to the desirability of proclaiming an "amnesty" continued. The membership had decreased from 9819 in 1874 to 4260 in 1878, and the number of local unions from 106 to 69. With the reviving prosperity of the country, the Printers felt that prices for work might be raised, but they knew that if a strike occurred the expelled printers would be used as "strike-breakers."

The Chicago union, at this juncture, decided to admit to membership all applicants, whatever their past records. The union was thereby enabled to enforce its scale and to increase the number of union offices.¹⁷ This action was the subject of much comment. Chicago union was described by the opponents of "amnesties" as a "white-washed" union; but the International commended the "Chicago policy", as it was called, on the ground that it

¹⁵ Proceedings, 1868, p. 35; *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 9.

¹⁶ The committee to which the proposition was committed reported as follows: "Resolved, that as it is detrimental to the best interests of the craft generally that those who have proved recreant to their obligations as members of the union should again be admitted into full fellowship with the fraternity, we therefore deem it inexpedient to resort to aforesaid amnesty" (Proceedings, 1876, pp. 60, 61).

¹⁷ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 26, p. 272.

would bring about "a reunion of the whole craft."¹⁸ No "amnesty" was declared by the International, but it is probable that the larger part of the local unions opened their doors.¹⁹

Although, therefore, the union has shown itself disinclined in recent years to issue a "general amnesty,"²⁰ the International executive council since 1890 has had the power to declare an "amnesty" for expelled printers working within the jurisdiction of a particular local union. When a local union is endeavoring to unionize an office or is involved in a strike, it ordinarily procures the assent of the International council to an "amnesty." The local union may then admit any printer to membership without obtaining the consent of the expelling union. The result is that in every considerable strike many expelled printers find their way back into the union. Under this arrangement the national exclusion of the expelled is carried only up to the point where in the opinion of the International officials it would be hurtful.

(d) *Women*.—The entrance of women into the printing trade appears to have been closely associated with the participation of the family in the work of the small office. At a very early date, some of the women printers thus trained became proprietors of printing offices,²¹ but the earliest reference in the records of any of the societies to the employment of women as printers is found in the minutes of the Philadelphia society for the year 1832. It was reported at that time to the society that Mr. Ma-

¹⁸ Proceedings, 1879, p. 57.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 57; *Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 37-43, 102.

²⁰ A proposal was made in 1888 to grant an "amnesty" to members of the Printers' Protective Fraternity, but was defeated (Proceedings, 1888, pp. 127, 177).

²¹ Isaiah Thomas, "History of Printing in America," *passim*; "Early Female Printers in America" in *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 7, p. 284.

thew Carey, the economist, had promised a Mr. Johnson, a master printer of Philadelphia, to give him work if he would employ women as compositors. In a letter to the society Mr. Carey denied that he had made such an offer. A few years later, Mr. Carey complained in another communication to the society that there was a feeling of hostility towards him on account of the prevailing belief that he wished to secure the employment of women as compositors. He admitted his interest in securing better and more remunerative employment for women, but denied that he had ever proposed or thought of introducing them into the printing trade.²²

In 1835 the Columbia society of Washington heard with dismay that women were to be taught typesetting in Philadelphia, and were then to be brought to Washington to work for General Duff Green. The corresponding secretary wrote to the unions in Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore inquiring as to the employment of women as printers in those cities. Unfortunately the replies have been lost. There is contemporary evidence, however, that no women were employed as journeymen printers at this time in Philadelphia, nor were any at work in Washington.²³ Two women owned and managed printing offices in Philadelphia, but they did not work at the trade. The discussion of the question was not caused by the actual introduction of women into the trade but by the agitation

²² MS. Minutes of Philadelphia Typographical Society, 1832 and 1838, *passim*; *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 2, pp. 267, 268. Mr. Carey, who was much concerned over the low wages paid to women, set forth his views on the subject in numerous pamphlets and articles, the chief of which are: "Address to the Ladies of New York", 1830; "Address to the Impartial Humane Society", 1830; "Address to the Wealthy of the Land", 1831; "Female Wages and Oppression", 1835. In none of these is there any reference to the employment of women as compositors.

²³ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, p. 365.

which was being carried on at that time for the better remuneration and wider employment of women. Although the Philadelphia and Columbia societies took no action in opposition to the employment of women as printers, they showed clearly that they regarded such an innovation with disfavor and fear.²⁴

By 1850 a considerable number of women were working as compositors,²⁵ and the local typographical unions showed deep concern at this invasion. In 1854 the Detroit union asked advice from the National Union as to whether it should oppose the employment of women. A resolution "discountenancing the employment of females" was voted down, but the National Union was strongly of the opinion that it should not "encourage by its acts the employment of females as compositors."²⁶ The local unions appear generally to have opposed the employment of women as printers. The Philadelphia union, for example, instructed its delegates to the session of 1855 "to oppose any recognition of the employment of females as compositors." The Boston union, however, in whose jurisdiction the number of female compositors has always been largest, rejected in 1855 a rule forbidding the members to work with female compositors. Two years later the same union passed a resolution "that all

²⁴ Some women were probably working as compositors in New England in the early thirties. Harriet Martineau, in 1836, mentions typesetting as one of the employments open to women, and in the returns of manufactures made in 1832 a few women were given as engaged in printing in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. See "Harriet Martineau and the Employment of Women in 1836" by Edith Abbot in *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 14, p. 619.

²⁵ The census of manufactures in 1850 returned 1279 female hands as against 6989 male hands engaged in printing and publishing. The census does not show what part of the female hands were actually employed as printers. Most of them were probably engaged in bookbinding, i. e., in stitching books.

²⁶ Proceedings, 1854, pp. 12, 27, 28.

females be allowed to work at all branches of the business provided they receive the scale." But female printers were not admitted to membership.

The policy of exclusion remained unchanged until the late sixties, when a combination of circumstances forced the National Union to give the subject renewed attention. By this time women were being employed on several large daily newspapers; notably the New York *World* and the Brooklyn *Eagle*.²⁷ The wages of women compositors were notoriously low, and in several strikes the unions had been defeated by women "strike breakers." The Printers began, under these circumstances, to question the wisdom of a policy of exclusion. Moreover, the agitation carried on by the advocates of equal rights for women attracted much attention. Miss Susan B. Anthony and others interested in this movement were particularly desirous of widening the field of employment for women, and the Printers felt keenly the criticism that they were attempting to exclude women from employment.

At the meeting of the National Union in 1867 a committee was authorized to "report a plan to regulate and control female compositors, so that ladies in the business may benefit themselves and inflict as little injury as possible upon printers." The committee was divided in opinion. A majority argued that lack of organization was responsible for the low wages paid women, and recommended that the local unions should "use every exertion and argument to induce such females to join their subordinate union or to establish a union of their own in conjunction with the existing union." The session held, however, to the time-honored view that each local union should be left free to decide such questions for itself.²⁸

²⁷ In some of the large newspaper offices women were employed in distributing type and thus acquired a knowledge of typesetting.

²⁸ Proceedings, 1867, pp. 30, 52, 57.

Two years later the New York union stood sponsor at the session of the International for a plan to prevent the harmful competition of women. During a strike in 1868 this union had organized a union of women compositors with forty members. The "Women's Typographical Union" now applied for a charter from the International Union, and the New York union endorsed the application. The International Union granted the request and amended its constitution so as to permit the chartering of women's unions provided the union of male printers in the locality consented. The scale of the female union was to be subject to the approval of the male union.²⁹

The Printers in other cities besides New York were impressed with the desirability of affiliating women compositors. The Philadelphia and Chicago unions admitted their first women members in 1870.³⁰ Miss Augusta Lewis, who had been prominent in the formation of the New York women's union, was elected corresponding secretary of the International. She energetically carried on a correspondence with the printers in various sections and endeavored in some places to form women's unions and in others to secure the admission of women to the men's unions. In 1871 the International urged the local unions to affiliate women printers either by forming women's unions or by admitting them to membership in the men's unions. It also advised that, where separate unions were formed, the women belonging to such local unions should be admitted to offices "on an equality with men."³¹ Although no other women's union was organized, many women were admitted to membership in the local unions.

The wisdom of chartering separate local unions of

²⁹ Proceedings, 1869, pp. 8, 23, 39, 41.

³⁰ *Printers' Circular*, Vol. 5, pp. 66, 151.

³¹ Proceedings, 1871, pp. 33, 61; *Ibid.*, 1872, pp. 50, 51.

women was very shortly brought into serious question. The New York women's union was by no means prosperous. It did not receive from the advocates of "equal rights" the support which had been expected. Mr. Tilton of the *Golden Age* refused to pay the scale; and Miss Anthony, the proprietor of the *Revolution*, was unable to do so on account of a contract for the printing of the *Revolution* into which she had entered.³² The women unionists complained also that they were discriminated against in union offices. In 1871, in her report to the International, Miss Lewis said: "We refuse to take the men's situations when they are on 'strike'; and when there is no strike, if we ask for work in union offices we are told that there are no conveniences for us. We are ostracized in many offices because we are members of the union, and although the *principle* is right, the *disadvantages* are so many that we cannot much longer hold together, and I trust our want of success will be attributed to the true cause."

On the other hand, the men's union in New York was even more seriously dissatisfied. The men wished the women's scale to be identical with their own, but the women compositors found it impossible to secure work except at some reduction. In 1872 a committee of the International after an investigation pointed out that, if women were allowed to organize separate local unions, there would always be the danger that they would not

³²At the National Labor Union Congress held in Philadelphia in August, 1869, the New York typographical union bitterly opposed the admission of Miss Anthony as a delegate from the Working-women's Association of New York on the ground that her paper did not employ unionists and that it paid its women compositors less than the scale. After a prolonged debate, the delegates of the New York union and of the International Typographical Union secured the exclusion of Miss Anthony by threatening to withdraw from the Congress (*Printers' Circular*, Vol. 4, pp. 244-248).

effectively maintain their scale. The International Union decided on this account to issue no more charters to women's unions. The New York women's union, however, retained its charter until 1878, although the men's union several times asked that it be revoked.

Opposition to the admission of women to the local unions was gradually dying out, and in 1884 the International president decided that subordinate unions could not refuse admission on account of sex. The convention approved the decision and ordered foremen, unions, and chapels to "make no distinctions on account of sex in persons holding travelling cards."³³ In 1887 the International provided explicitly that equal wages must be paid to male and female compositors in all union offices.³⁴

The policy of the union as thus finally determined consists of three parts. In the first place, the union will not permit the employment of women at a lower rate than is paid to men. Secondly, since it has been found impracticable to enforce the payment of the same rate to men and women if the women are allowed to have separate unions, the union will not allow the formation of separate local unions. Thirdly, a local union must admit women on the same terms as it does men. This policy had at least one advantage; it relieved the union from the criticism that it excluded women from the trade. Indeed, the union was able to show itself an ardent advocate of the "equal pay" doctrine.³⁵ The union has not, however, been successful to any considerable extent in affiliating women printers. The mass of women compositors

³³ Proceedings, 1884, pp. 20, 104.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 108.

³⁵ The committee which in 1872 had advised that no more separate female unions should be formed had based its recommendation on the "fundamental principle unswervingly insisted upon by all the friends of female labor that there should be no difference in compensation to competent workers based upon a difference in sex."

cannot earn the union rate; and the union prefers to leave them unorganized rather than to permit them to work for less than men. The wisdom of this policy has at times been questioned; and, in 1891 and 1893, the Boston union attempted, unsuccessfully, to secure from the International permission to establish a lower scale for women.⁸⁶

To understand why the union has adhered so steadily to this policy it is necessary to understand the position which women occupy in the trade. Nearly all women printers are hand compositors, and they rarely learn any part of the hand compositor's work except the setting of "straight" matter. They are not employed to any extent in setting "display" matter, nor do they make up or impose. As hand compositors on "straight" matter, they are usually inferior to men. These deficiencies are chiefly due to the circumstances under which women enter the trade. A boy ordinarily learns the trade of a printer by working for four years at its various branches. During this time he receives, especially during the first part of his term, very low wages. A girl, on the other hand, immediately on entering an office, is put at setting type; and she receives in a short while a higher wage than the boy does. The girl is not moved from one branch of the trade to another, partly because certain branches of the trade require somewhat severe physical exertion; but chiefly because she wishes to earn immediately as large a weekly sum as possible, since in the great majority of cases she expects to remain at the trade only a few years.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Proceedings, 1891, p. 159; *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 123.

⁸⁷ According to the census of 1900, 60 per cent of the female "printers, lithographers, and pressmen" in the United States were from 16 to 24 years of age and nearly 80 per cent were from 16 to 34; only 30 per cent of the male "printers, lithographers, and press-

In most of the trades in which women are at work, as for example in bookbinding, men and women work at different parts of the trade and do not compete. Such a division of the work of the printer between men and women, the union was unwilling to consider. Although "straight" hand composition has always been subject to the competition of workers of low skill, it constituted until the advent of the machine the great bulk of the work of the trade. If a local union, in order to induce the women compositors to join, had lowered the rate for "straight" hand composition, a reduction in the earnings of a large part of the unionists would have resulted. The rapid development in recent years of machine composition suggested to the Boston union the possibility of bringing the women compositors into the union by reducing the rate for "straight" hand composition, which in that city had fallen almost completely into the hands of women. In 1901 the union secured from the employers an increase in the weekly scale, but granted a reduction from 40 to 35 cents per 1000 ems in the piece scale for hand composition. As long as the rate was 40 cents, no woman could hope to be employed on "straight" composition as a unionist, for the market price was only 35 cents.⁸⁸ The union did not find that the reduction in the scale materially increased its membership, and the rate is now 38 cents per thousand.

The problem of "female cheap labor", which for so long disquieted the Printers, has not been much discussed in recent years. "Straight" composition is now done largely on machines, and a steady lessening of the demand for hand-set "straight" matter seems likely. Unless, there-

men" were from 16 to 24 years of age and about 60 per cent were from 16 to 34.

⁸⁸ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 18, 150.

fore, women can profitably operate the machines, it appears probable that the field for their employment as printers will narrow. At the introduction of the machines, it was confidently expected that they would be operated by women. The statistics collected by the officers of the International Union make it possible to determine how far this expectation has been realized.

The following table shows for various years since 1901 the number of male machine operators, female machine operators, machine tenders, and operator machinists:

	1901		1905		1908	
	Union- ists	Non- Union- ists	Union- ists	Non- Union- ists	Union- ists	Non- Union- ists
Male Machine Operators..	6,406	557	9,287	585	10,073	1,192
Female Machine Operators	166	99	342	197	332	381
Machine Tenders	475	73	712	81	673	151
Operator Machinists	730		1,186	78	1,345	277

It appears that the number of female machine operators increased from 265 in 1901 to 539 in 1905 and to 713 in 1908, while the number of male machine operators increased from 6963 to 11,265. The operator machinists, who are almost without exception men, also increased from 730 in 1901 to 1622 in 1908. It thus appears that although the rate of increase was larger for women, the number of women operators is very small. In a total of nearly 13,000 operators, only 700 are women.

The small number of women operators is partly to be explained by the fact that machines have hitherto been chiefly used in newspaper offices, where women are rarely employed. But the chief cause is that employers generally prefer men because, as a class, they are faster and more skillful operators. The machine is costly, and the fixed charges for repairs, interest, etc., are the same, whatever the product. As long as the ratio of fixed charges to operating expenses remains high, the employ-

er will be willing to pay a considerable difference in wage to secure a superior workman. In "straight" hand composition the fixed charges were low, and a cheaper workman meant a cheaper product. The cheapness of women's work is, therefore, not nearly so great a consideration in machine composition as it was in hand composition. Any diminution in the cost of the machines or of their up-keep would make the competition of women more severe.

The machine makes against the employment of women in another way. The decrease in the amount of hand-set "straight" matter has made it less desirable for employers to maintain forces of women compositors, and the opportunities for women to obtain a knowledge of hand composition have been lessened. Employers are a unit in the opinion that a knowledge of hand composition is highly desirable for a machine operator. If women become operators, therefore, they must in the majority of cases enter the trade as men do by serving a period of apprenticeship at a low rate of wages. It is always possible, of course, that employers may take on women as hand compositors with a view to giving them such training as may fit them for working the machines, but since the period of training is expensive not many women are thus taught designedly.

The increase in the number of women printers cannot be ascertained accurately, for the occupation statistics do not separate printers from pressmen, lithographers, and stereotypers. The following table gives the numbers at each census since 1870:

	Total	Females	Percentage	
1870	40,424	1,504	3.7	Printers and publishers
1880	72,726	3,456	4.7	Printers, lithographers and stereotypers
1890	123,059	12,211	9.9	Printers, lithographers and pressmen
1900	155,147	15,981	10.3	Printers, lithographers and pressmen

A remarkable increase in the percentage of women is to be noted from 1880 to 1890; but from 1890 to 1900 the number increased at about the same rate as the number of men. Some allowance must be made for the fact that certain parts of the occupation group that are increasing very rapidly, for example, stereotypers and lithographers, are entirely made up of males. These classes are small, however, and do not impair the conclusion that the rate of increase in the number of women was materially checked in the decade 1890-1900. Women would probably have proved more formidable competitors in the trade if the amount of "straight" hand composition done had increased at the same rate as in the decade 1880-1890.

(e) *Negroes*.—The question as to the right of negroes to admission did not come before the International until 1869.⁸⁹ In May of that year, L. H. Douglass, a son of Frederick Douglass, was appointed to a position as compositor in the Government Printing Office. The office was at that time a strictly union office, and as Douglass did not have a card, he obtained from the secretary of the Columbia union a permit allowing him to work until the union met. Before the local union in Washington had acted on his application for membership, a meeting of the International was held in Albany, and the delegates from the Washington union presented the question for consideration. A resolution declaring it to be "flagrantly unjust for any subordinate union to deny admission to any printer merely on the ground of race or color" was defeated, as was another resolution declaring against "the

⁸⁹ The constitution of the New Orleans society adopted in 1839 provided: "In no case shall a member of this association be allowed to work with a free man of color, either as compositor or pressman." Similar rules are to be found in the older constitutions of many of the other Southern unions.

admission of any negro into a union."⁴⁰ The International Union thus refused to take a stand on the real point at issue. The case was somewhat complicated, however, by a charge that Douglass had worked for some time in a non-union office in Denver, and a resolution was passed censuring the superintendent of the Government Printing Office for "an attempt to force upon Columbia Union, L. H. Douglass, an avowed rat." After some delay, the Columbia union began to admit negroes to membership.

The International held repeatedly that a local union might, at its discretion, refuse to admit negroes.⁴¹ This decision involved a difficulty, for a negro who had become a member of one union might take a travelling card and present it to another union which did not admit negroes. At the session of 1871, a delegate from Macon, Georgia, proposed that unions should be permitted to reject negroes who sought admission by card; but the International Union refused its assent to such a proposal.⁴² No case of a union refusing to receive the card of a travelling printer was brought to the attention of the International Union until 1879. In December, 1878, T. M. Alexander, a negro member of Columbia union, wrote to that union that the unions at Memphis, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark., had refused to recognize his travelling card, issued by Columbia union. The International president informed Columbia union that "it was a violation of existing laws for the officers of a subordinate union to refuse recognition to a person holding a properly accredited travelling card so long as such card was fairly obtained," and this decision was affirmed at the next session of the International.⁴³

⁴⁰ Proceedings, 1869, pp. 16, 54.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 31.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1871, pp. 33, 71.

Since 1879 the subject has not been before the International Union. The Union has never formally required that negroes, if competent, must be admitted to membership; but since 1899 a negro if refused admission may appeal to the International president.⁴⁴ The whole question has attracted little interest among the Printers because the negroes are a negligible element in the trade. The number of negro printers, lithographers, and pressmen in the United States at the census of 1900 was only 1221. They are engaged very largely in separate offices in doing work for their own race.

The local unions retained until recently the right to reject any candidate for membership unless the rejection was because the candidate belonged to a class of printers which the International had declared should be admitted. The rejection of a candidate might have been the result of personal feeling, of factional pique, or of the desire to monopolize work; yet in none of these cases had the applicant any redress. In order to place some check on the freedom with which the local unions rejected candidates, it was first proposed that the International should specify the number of votes necessary to reject. In many of the local unions a very small number of votes was sufficient to blackball. It was argued that if a candidate might not be rejected except by a considerable number of votes, the number of rejections on improper grounds would be decreased. In 1893 President Prescott vigorously advocated the adoption of such a rule. As a result of this recommendation, the International Union adopted a rule that if three-fourths of the members present at any meeting of a subordinate union voted for the admission

⁴⁴ Proceedings, 1879, pp. 9, 35.

⁴⁵ See below, p. 323.

of the applicant, he should be admitted.⁴⁵ In 1898 President Prescott urged that the rule should be again changed so that a majority vote would suffice to admit; but up to the present this has not been done.

In 1898 the International president secured, however, the adoption of a rule that any candidate for admission whose application had been rejected should have the right of appeal to the International president and the executive council.⁴⁶ This rule has practically made the president and the executive council the judges of the qualifications of candidates. The local union still retains the nominal right to pass upon candidates; but every applicant can secure a rehearing of his claim to membership before an International officer. Since the International Union has never defined the necessary qualifications of candidates, the officers are almost entirely free in interpreting the "practice and law" of the union.

The International president in his decisions has proceeded on the theory that a "practical printer" may be refused admission only on one of two grounds—"anti-union conduct" and incompetency.⁴⁷ "Anti-union conduct" is, of course, difficult to define, but in general the officers have forced the unions to admit applicants guilty of minor offences. Thus where a printer came from a small town to work in a non-union office and claimed ignorance of the existence of the union, he was ordered admitted.⁴⁸ In the cases of expelled printers whose appli-

⁴⁵ Proceedings, 1893, pp. 12, 159.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 20, 105.

⁴⁷ In a decided case, President Lynch said: "We are not conducting a close association and we say to all printers regardless of sex or color that, if they are competent and their records are clear, they shall have opportunity to join the trade and work as union members" (President's letter book [MS.], 1905, Vol. 69, p. 614.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 44, p. 693.

cations for readmission have been rejected, the president has usually contented himself with advising the local union to admit the applicant; but where the local union has carried its reluctance to an extreme point, and where the candidate has shown himself anxious to reassume membership, the president has ordered his admission.⁴⁹ Competency must largely be judged by local standards and each union has the power to reject candidates not coming up to that standard; but, where incompetency has been alleged as a reason for not admitting a candidate, the president has required that the incompetency shall be proved.

The appeal cases of the applicants show a strong feeling in some local unions in favor of excluding applicants in order to monopolize employment. In one instance a local union alleged as a reason for rejecting an applicant that "good, old time printers had to walk the streets while she [the applicant] was working." The president in ordering the admission of the candidate said: "It has never been the policy of the International Typographical Union to reject applicants for membership because union members may be at the time out of work."⁵⁰ Another union, which forbade employers not members of the union to work at the trade, refused to admit certain employers on the ground that, if they were allowed to work, they would displace union members.⁵¹

The exclusion from the union of some printers entitled to admission is inevitable, since the International officers intervene only on complaint. Undoubtedly, many applicants for membership who are rejected, and who might secure admission by an appeal to the International president, are either not aware of this right or do not avail

⁴⁹ President's letter book [MS.], Vol. 46, p. 717.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 69, p. 614.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 49, p. 178.

themselves of it. The constant reviewing of cases has had, however, the effect of making the local unions more considerate of the claims of an applicant. Moreover, although a local union may charge any initiation fee it pleases, high initiation fees, as a means of exclusion, are rarely found among the Printers. The majority of the local unions charge an initiation fee of \$5, although some unions exact a larger fee, somewhat in the nature of a fine, from persons who have been expelled or from those who have never belonged to the union, but have worked in non-union shops in organized towns.

CHAPTER XVIII

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Collective bargaining among the Printers was entirely on a local basis until 1885. The local unions sometimes amended their scales without consulting employers, but the larger unions ordinarily found it advisable to confer with them before making radical changes. No continuous organizations of employers for dealing with the unions appear to have existed,¹ but temporary employers' associations were frequently formed when changes in the scale were under discussion. At a very early date, the unions began to take precautions against hasty and ill-considered changes in their scales. The New York Typographical Association in 1833 required that a motion to amend the scale of prices should not be acted upon until the expiration of two months. The Columbia union, when adopting a revised list of prices in 1837, enacted: "No alteration or amendment shall be made in the foregoing list of prices, unless two-thirds of the members present concur therein; nor then without one month's previous notice having been given."² Provisions of a like kind were incorporated in the constitutions of many of the unions.

The formation of the National Typographical Union in 1852 introduced no modification in the method of con-

¹ Employers' associations for the purpose of maintaining prices for work were formed at a very early time. The Company of Printers of Philadelphia was organized in 1794; the Faustus Association of Boston was active from 1805 to 1815. Similar associations have been formed almost constantly since then.

² Constitution of the Columbia Typographical Society (Washington, 1837).

ducting collective bargaining. The entire independence on the part of the local unions of any central control precluded any effective regulation of local bargaining by the National Union. Under these circumstances, the national organization confined itself to the formulation of vague rules designed to prevent strikes. In 1853 the National Union declared that it regarded "as injudicious a frequent resort to strikes on the part of journeymen." In 1857 strikes were declared to be "inexpedient except where the rules or principles of the National or a subordinate union may have been violated," and subordinate unions were urged "to adopt some conciliatory method of making important changes in their scale of prices, etc."³ In 1876 the International Union required "subordinate unions not to order a strike without at least a three-fourths majority vote of the union, all the members being constitutionally notified of the meeting." Members were not to vote on the question of a strike unless they had belonged to the subordinate union at least six months.⁴ Since the unions in case of strike were not aided by the International, disobedience to these rules carried no penalty. The deliberate expression of the central organization concerning the proper procedure to be followed in inaugurating strikes undoubtedly strengthened the hands of the conservative element in the local unions; but beyond this the strike rules were ineffectual.

After many years of discussion, the International Union in 1885 decided to establish a defense fund for the support of unions on strike.⁵ Provision was made that the members of a local union should not receive strike relief

³ Proceedings, 1857, pp. 27, 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 65.

⁵ For an account of the long continued efforts to secure the establishment of such a fund, see pp. 33-39.

unless the strike had been sanctioned in advance by the International executive council. An effective control of strikes was thereby placed in the hands of the International Union. Directly or indirectly, all recent developments in the methods of collective bargaining in the union are the outcome of the establishment of the defense fund. The period since 1885 has been marked (1) by an increasing control on the part of the International officers over the bargaining of the local unions, (2) by the formation of employers' local and national associations which deal as units with the local unions and the International Union, and, finally, (3) by the wide extension of a system of formal contracts sanctioned in many cases by the International Union.

Control of Local Bargaining.—The rules establishing the defense fund were faulty in many respects, but chiefly in that the carrying on of bargaining was left almost entirely in the hands of the local unions. In order to secure aid from the fund, the local union had to obtain the consent of the executive committee, consisting of the president, the chief organizer, and a vice-president or a state deputy. These officers, located in various parts of the country and receiving small salaries, devoted only a small part of their time to the work of the union, and were necessarily unable to exercise any effective control over the bargaining of the local unions. In his annual address at the session of the International in 1886, President Aimison said: "Either the whole question of strikes should be placed under the control of the executive committee or the law repealed. It may be thought that the approval by the council of a strike before the fund can be used places the subject-matter sufficiently under control. But the fact that steps can be taken from which no retreat is possible before the council is notified is a

danger not to be avoided under the law as it now stands. Experience convinces me that many if not most of the strikes which occur are either without adequate cause, are ill-timed, or are hopeless of success; and I fear that in numerous instances the spirit of the law is disregarded, that to secure the necessary majority to order a strike the rights of the minority are trampled upon. These facts, the sufficiency of the cause, the propriety as to the occasion and the legality of the method . . . should be ascertained before a strike is approved. They cannot be ascertained without the presence upon the ground of an International officer."

In accordance with this advice, the session provided that, whenever a disagreement occurred between a local union and an employer which was likely to result in a strike, the local union should immediately notify the chief organizer. This official was to proceed at once to the place and investigate the cause of disagreement. He was to endeavor to adjust the difficulty by conferring with both sides. If his efforts failed, he was to inform the other members of the International executive council of all the circumstances. If a majority of said council decided that a strike was expedient and justifiable, the union might be authorized to order a strike. In 1888 the work of supervising the bargaining of the local unions was entrusted to seven district organizers elected by the delegates at the session of the International.⁶

The method of selecting organizers by districts was by no means satisfactory. In 1893 the president urged upon the delegates at the session of the International the importance of greater care in selecting these officials. "The great majority of strikes," he said, "arise from technical violations of the scale by employers, and our members,

⁶ Proceedings, 1888, p. 146. See above, p. 262.

fearful that the encroachment is but the forerunner of other and more comprehensive demands, are naturally enough inclined to resist at the outset . . . Our chief reliance in avoiding difficulty at this stage must necessarily be the organizer, and if that official fails to meet the question courageously all hope of adjustment can be abandoned." The organizers usually remained in office only a short time, since new delegates from the district commonly regarded the position as part of the spoils of union politics. A second defect in the system was that the organizers were paid by the day and usually secured only a few weeks' work each year. Thus in the year 1895-1896, forty-six organizers and deputy organizers received pay for aiding unions in the work of bargaining. The highest amount paid to any one of them was \$155. All of these officials were actively engaged in the printing industry as workmen.

A reform in the system was clearly advisable. Permanence in office and continuity in employment were advocated as requisites for securing efficient organizers. In 1896 President Prescott recommended this policy with great force. "It would be incomparably better," he said, "to have one or two men devoting their entire time to the work now devolving on the organizers. As practice makes for perfection, those officials would soon become adepts in the art of organizing, treating with employers, and managing strikes." A proposed amendment giving the president the power of appointment was defeated on account of the strong feeling against centralization.⁷ Similar proposals for a reform in the system, brought forward at almost every session of the Union and twice submitted to a vote of the membership, were defeated until the session of 1901, when the power of appointment was

⁷ Proceedings, 1896, pp. 114, 116.

vested in the president.⁸ The organizers are still paid by the day, but the abolition of the district system has made it possible to employ several of them continuously.⁹ The International Union has thus, after a delay of many years, secured a staff of experienced officials who assume charge of the bargaining of the subordinate unions whenever it appears likely that a breach of industrial peace is threatened.

The following table, compiled from the reports of the secretary-treasurer, shows the amounts expended by the International Union for the salaries and expenses of organizers engaged in bargaining, and the amounts paid to local unions in difficulties with employers:

EXPENDITURES FROM DEFENSE FUND

	Paid to unions	Paid to organizers ¹	Percentage of total paid to organizers
1890	\$11,519.50	\$1,346.61	.10
1891	18,227.69	1,812.09	.09
1892	48,616.63	2,212.09	.04
1893	44,860.72	3,601.39	.07
1894	29,959.78	4,874.91	.14
1895	21,602.81	3,155.02	.13
1896	18,760.58	4,568.77	.19
1897	45,262.55	12,202.18	.21
1898			
1899	19,080.74	7,806.81	.29
1900	79,608.71	11,699.80	.13
1901	13,009.39	10,277.58	.43
1902	14,442.67	13,238.48	.48
1903	15,106.92	14,622.63	.49
1904	54,558.22	15,229.64	.22
1905	19,360.16	16,995.41	.47
1906	755,435.81	43,857.79	.05
1907	1,407,719.66	45,389.68	.03
1908	567,775.97	46,026.66	.07

¹ Until 1905 exclusive of expenses incurred in organizing new unions, and since then inclusive of such expenses. The amount spent for organizing is relatively so small, however, that the figures for all the years are comparable.

⁸ Proceedings, 1901, p. 116.

⁹ In the fiscal year 1907-1908, about twenty-five organizers made reports; of these, ten received in salary and travelling expenses

While the sums paid to local unions vary greatly in different years, the amount expended annually on account of the corps of organizers has almost steadily increased. If the expenditures in any five years prior to 1906¹⁰ are compared with those in any preceding period of equal length, it becomes clear that the Typographical Union spends an increasing part of its defense fund in carrying on collective bargaining and a decreasing part in outlay for strikes. Thus, in no year from 1890 to 1895 was the expenditure for organizers greater than 14 per cent of the total amount paid from the defense fund, while in four of the years from 1899 to 1905 the expenditure for organizers was approximately 50 per cent of the total expended for "defensive" purposes, and in only one year did it go as low as 13 per cent. The usefulness of the force of organizers in averting strikes has been strongly praised by the International officers. Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood said in his report for 1898: "To the casual reader the sum expended in travelling expenses by the organizers and officers may seem large, but it is impossible to estimate the money saved local unions or the International by these arbiters, who, in many instances, averted serious conflicts between employers and employees."

After the International defense fund was established, many of the larger unions continued to finance their strikes without the aid of the central treasury. The

upwards of \$2000 each. None of the others received as much as \$1000 and some were paid only a few dollars. Thus, the organizer at Helena, Mont., was paid \$96.85; the organizer at Denver, \$64.25; the one at Toronto, Can., \$9.35. The organizers are not definitely located in certain districts and frequently organizers of special ability are sent for special work into other districts, but a more or less clearly recognized territory is assigned to each organizer.

¹⁰ The small percentage of the total expended for organizers in 1906-1908 inclusive was due to the strike for the eight-hour day, which involved an abnormally heavy outlay for strike relief.

power of the International Union to control bargaining was thus limited to those cases in which aid was expected. Although the "general laws" of the International required that no strike or lockout should be "deemed legal" unless "authorized or recognized by the executive council," and, also, that "to affect union men prejudicially to their standing in the Union the strike must have been authorized in accordance with the [International] law," local unions frequently disregarded these provisions and declared strikes without consulting the executive committee. As the interests of the union became more fully nationalized and a national policy developed, the members came to realize that a striking union, even though it paid its own expenses, might seriously imperil the success of an International policy. The unhappy outcome of two unsanctioned strikes in the fiscal year 1903-04 led to the enactment by the session of the International in 1904 of a rule which required the council to "immediately disown" all strikes occurring without its sanction, and "to guarantee protection to all members who remain at, accept, or return to work in offices affected by an illegal strike."¹¹

In another way, also, the increasing control of the International has tended to decrease the number of strikes. As has already been noted, the local unions, before the establishment of the defense fund, had endeavored to guard themselves against hasty action by inserting in their constitutions provisions intended to secure deliberation. Although these provisions were undoubtedly useful, yet in times of excitement, when opinion was running strongly in one direction, the union was able to evade them, since they were self-imposed. The precautions

¹¹ Proceedings, 1904, p. 137.

taken against hasty action under the "defense fund law" are much more effective. In order for a strike to be "legal", the following steps must be taken: first, an organizer inquires into the dispute; secondly, if the organizer cannot adjust the difficulty, the executive council decides whether a strike shall be authorized; third, the president of the local union calls a special meeting of the union, at which only those members who are in good standing and have been members of the local union for six months are allowed to vote. If three-fourths of such members are in favor of a strike, it is inaugurated.

Bargaining with Employers' Associations.—While the employees in the printing trades have formed their unions along craft lines, the employers have ignored such distinctions in their own organizations. From the standpoint of the employers, the printing business consists of two essentially distinct branches: newspaper publishing, and book and job printing. Only in the smaller towns do the newspaper publishers and the book and job printers unite in a single organization; and such associations are rarely long-lived, and have never attained the dignity of a national organization. The effective employers' associations are thus confined to the larger cities, where the differentiation between the two branches of the trade is complete. As a result the organization of the employers is by no means coëxtensive with that of the employees. Thus, in July, 1904, typographical unions were active in 600 towns and cities in the United States and Canada, while the employing book and job printers had organizations affiliated with their national association in only 54 cities, and the newspaper publishers were organized in only 113 places. The importance of the employers' associations, however, is far greater than is thus indicated, inasmuch as the 54 cities organized by the book and

job employing printers include the chief printing centers in North America.

Prior to 1887 associations of book and job printers for the purpose of negotiating collectively with the unions were usually temporary. The New York Typothetae, founded at a meeting in Tammany Hall, December 26, 1862, is the oldest association of master printers now existing in the United States. Interest in the organization died out after a few years, but in 1883 the association was revived.¹² In 1886 *The American Bookmaker*, a trade journal, urged the formation of similar societies in other cities; and within a short time typothetae were organized in Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Richmond.¹³ The rapid increase of these associations was due to the agitation which was being carried on at that time by the union for a reduction in working hours.

In September, 1887, the Chicago typothetae issued an address to the employing printers of the United States and Canada calling a convention "for the purpose of devising plans for united action upon the recent demand of the International Typographical Union that nine hours shall constitute a day's work." Representatives from seventeen local associations of employing printers met in Chicago, October 18-20, and formed a national organization,—“The United Typothetae of America.” A committee from the International Typographical Union assembled in Chicago at the same time, and proposed, if the Typothetae would concede the nine-hour day, to instruct the subordinate unions to reduce their wage scales proportionately.¹⁴ This offer was rejected and the union abandoned for a time its design of reducing the length of the working day.

¹² *The American Bookmaker*, Vol. 1, p. 10.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, *passim*.

¹⁴ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1887, p. 22.

The structure of the Typothetae was intentionally loose. "Our society," said President DeVinne in his address at the second convention, "is unlike any in the trade. It is voluntary and not coercive. We are here as free-men, not pledged to blind obedience in support of any leader or policy—it is not in *our* plan to coerce unwilling or half-willing members in obedience to a policy they do not approve. We are here for counsel and for that cheerful and voluntary concert of action which comes only from a conviction of the justice of the counsellings." The members of the Typothetae were not bound to follow any line of action recommended by the national body, and the assessments were very small. The annual income of the Typothetae, as late as 1902, was barely \$3000; the greater part of this sum was spent in publishing and distributing the report of the convention proceedings.¹⁵

The slight control possessed by the Typothetae over its local branches was an obstacle to the development of relations with the union. In 1888 the International appointed three representatives to confer with the Typothetae "with a view to establish a basis upon which a good understanding and honorable peace may be secured." In answer to a communication from this committee, the Typothetae replied: "There exists no matter of difference between the two bodies which would come properly under the jurisdiction of the United Typothetae. If any misunderstandings or disputes exist they should be settled by the local typothetae interested."¹⁶

¹⁵ The Typothetae has other functions besides bargaining with the unions in the trade. It is interested, for example, in teaching master printers to estimate more carefully the cost of executing work, in securing cheaper insurance, and in industrial education for printers.

¹⁶ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1888, pp. 31, 32.

The committee from the International Union persisted in its proposal and requested permission to discuss: first, a proper apprenticeship system; second, separate unions for the book and job printers; third, withdrawal of foremen from union membership; fourth, arbitration. The matter was referred by the Typothetae to the executive committee, and in an informal discussion the committee from the International Union, according to its report, was informed "that the United Typothetae had no jurisdiction over the local typothetae in the matters suggested for conference, and the executive committee could not enter into an agreement that would bind the local typothetae, their powers being only advisory." The committee accordingly reported to the next session of the International: "After examining the subject we find that the National Typothetae claim that they have no power to make contracts which would be binding on others, all such power, if any exists, being vested in the local bodies," and recommended that the subordinate unions "take some action toward negotiating as a body with the local typothetae."¹⁷

The union and the Typothetae were brought into conflict in 1891 by a strike of the Pittsburg union for the introduction of the nine-hour day. The executive council of the International sanctioned the strike, and the United Typothetae indorsed "the action of the Pittsburg Typothetae in resisting the recent demands made by the Typographical Union of that city"; and pledged its "heartly support in every practicable form."¹⁸ The Pittsburg strike was thus in effect a struggle between the International Union and the United Typothetae fought out through local branches. The Typographical Union lev-

¹⁷ Proceedings, 1889, pp. 11, 12, 95.

¹⁸ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1892, p. 28.

ied an extra assessment on its members and spent upwards of \$60,000 in carrying on the strike. The United Typothetae, adhering to its policy of voluntary action on the part of its members, collected by contribution a sum of money for securing the adjudication of certain legal questions raised by the strike. Typothetae in other cities aided the Pittsburg branch with workmen and in other ways. After two years' duration, the strike was lost by the union.

It was not until 1898 that the International Union and the United Typothetae developed any direct relations. By that time, many of the local typothetae had agreed to grant the nine-hour day, and many employing printers in other cities were averse to further opposition. The shorter workday committee of the International Union had already set a date on which the local unions were to demand the nine-hour day. While affairs were in this state, the United Typothetae held its annual convention. Representatives of the Pressmen and of the Typographical Union were permitted to address the convention, and the Typothetae appointed a committee to confer concerning the introduction of the nine-hour day. This conference—known in the trade as the Syracuse Conference—agreed upon a plan for the reduction of the hours of work to nine. The representatives from the Typothetae were unable to bind the members of that organization, and could go no further than earnestly to recommend the observance of the agreement to their fellow-members.¹⁰ Practically all the members of the Typothetae adhered to the agreement.

Decided opposition to the holding of conferences with the union manifested itself at the meeting of the Typothetae in 1899. Many of the members of the local ty-

¹⁰ Report of Conference of Committees on Shorter Workday (Boston, 1898), pp. 183, 184.

pothetae were employers of non-union workmen, and objected to conferences on the ground that they felt themselves under obligation to abide by agreements of the United Typothetae with the International.²⁰ In the same year the differences between the two organizations were increased by a strike at Kansas City. The typothetae of that place secured the aid of the United Typothetae in resisting the demands of the local typographical union. A number of points were involved in the dispute, but the Typothetae gave help to its local branch on the ground that the strike had been called for the purpose of unionizing the offices.²¹

Many of the local typothetae by 1898 had developed into efficient associations for bargaining purposes. A difficulty, however, was encountered in dealing with the local unions, in that the unions were unable to submit to local boards questions covered by the International rules. An important case of this kind occurred in New York in 1902. The New York typothetae and the local typographical union concluded an agreement to refer to the International and the United Typothetae for arbitration "such points as conflict with the present International Typographical laws." Among these was the rule requiring that the foreman should be a member of the union. The executive council of the International declined, however, to sanction the arbitration of the rule.²² The next session of the International indorsed this action, and ordered the executive officers not to submit any of the rules of the Union to arbitration. In 1902 the International executive council and the executive committee of the United Typothetae met and discussed the formation of

²⁰ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1899, p. 75 *et seq.*

²¹ Proceedings, 1900, p. 74 *et seq.*; Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1900, pp. 42, 43.

²² Proceedings, 1903, p. 154.

an agreement for the settlement of local disputes by a national board. The representatives of the International Union refused to make any agreement which did not provide for the closed shop, and the Typothetae committee insisted on the insertion of a provision that for five years the working day should remain a nine-hour day.²³ These differences proved irreconcilable.

The Kansas City strike, the action of the International in the New York case, and the failure to agree on an arbitration plan led many members of the United Typothetae to favor the strengthening of that organization. In 1900 a plan for raising a national "emergency fund" was adopted; but, since many members of the Typothetae had no relations with the unions, payment to the fund was made voluntary, and only a few of the members subscribed.²⁴ The Buffalo typothetae proposed in 1901 radical amendments to the constitution, with a view to strengthening the control of the Typothetae over its branches; but the advocates of the old regime triumphed in the convention; a new plan for raising a voluntary "defense fund" was adopted, and the consideration of proposed changes deferred for a year. When the convention met in 1902, the same differences of opinion manifested themselves. A partial agreement, however, was reached on the question of revenue; and the convention increased the assessment on local organizations sufficiently to provide for the employment of a paid official as secretary.²⁵ In 1903, also, a considerable defense fund was raised by voluntary subscription.²⁶

²³ Proceedings, 1902, pp. 93, 94; Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1902, p. 55.

²⁴ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1901, p. 29.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 138.

²⁶ MS. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the United Typothetae.

The agitation which had been begun by the Typographical Union for the eight-hour day strengthened the advocates of centralization in the Typothetae; and at the session of 1904 a new constitution was adopted by a unanimous vote. This instrument gave the national organization large powers. Under it the United Typothetae might "legislate for its membership and determine all questions arising between them or it and the trade unions or other employees in regard to shop practice, hours of labor, apprentices, and every other question except wages." The local typothetae were to retain complete control over questions of wages. The assessment on each \$1000 of wages paid by the members in the mechanical departments of their offices was increased from 25 cents to \$5. The emergency fund was to be maintained from the general assessment and not, as before, by voluntary contributions. The executive committee might pay any member who had a strike in his office an amount equal to his entire loss, or such part thereof as might seem best; but such payments were to continue only for three months except by special resolution.²⁷

At the same session, in response to a request from the officers of the Typographical Union, the Typothetae made a statement of its position with reference to the proposed introduction of the eight-hour day. In a series of resolutions, it expressed the belief that any attempt, under the conditions then existing, to shorten the working day would be "disastrous to the employer and employee alike", and declared its purpose to "resist any attempt on the part of the International Union to reduce the present hours of labor."²⁸ The grounds of the opposition to the introduction of the eight-hour day were set forth by local asso-

²⁷ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1904, pp. 178, 182.

²⁸ Proceedings, 1904, p. 7; Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1904, p. 152.

ciations of the employing printers in various resolutions. It was claimed that work would be given to foreign countries; that the amount of work done would be lessened, and that the employing printers could not advance their charges to their customers sufficiently to make a reasonable profit.²⁹ The fact that costly machinery is used in composing rooms was emphasized in its relation to the cost of production. Mr. Ellis, the president of the Typothetae, estimating the fixed charges as equal to the labor cost, declared that by a reduction of the working day from nine to eight hours, the cost of production would be increased from 18 to 25 per cent.³⁰

In anticipation of the attempt of the union to enforce the eight-hour day, the Typothetae made energetic preparations for resistance. Meetings were held in various sections of the country and the employing printers were urged to prepare for a struggle. The issue was also broadened. The opposition to the closed shop was put in the foreground as of even greater importance than the question of hours. The impending struggle was thus made of deeper concern to both sides. By the prominence given the closed shop issue, the Typothetae won the enthusiastic aid of the numerous local organizations of employers usually known as citizens' alliances. These associations had multiplied rapidly since about 1900, and in many cities had been able either to disrupt the trade unions or to seriously limit their power. The citizens' alliances were especially valuable allies to the Typothetae because their members controlled valuable printing patronage.

In August, 1905, President Ellis of the Typothetae, on invitation, addressed the session of the International

²⁹ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1905, p. 49.

³⁰ Proceedings, 1905, p. 162.

Union. He held out no hope of an agreement, but warned the delegates that "disastrous warfare" would result if the union persisted in its demand for the introduction of the eight-hour day on January 1, 1906, the date which had been fixed by the union. A final conference was held at Niagara Falls on September 7, 1905, during the session of the United Typothetae. The representatives of the union expressed their willingness to postpone the date on which the eight-hour day was to be demanded if the Typothetae was willing to agree to the introduction of the shorter workday at some later time. The Typothetae instructed its committee to reply that the convention after deliberation was "unwilling to consider any agreement leading toward the eight-hour day."⁸¹

Even before the breaking off of negotiations the struggle had already begun. Early in August, 1905, non-unionists were put to work in union offices in Detroit and in San Antonio, Texas. In both places strikes were declared by the union. Immediately after the adjournment of the Typothetae convention in September, several of the largest offices in Chicago also put non-unionists at work, and strikes were immediately declared.⁸² The union had determined from the outset that the best, if not the only practicable plan for obtaining the eight-hour day, in default of a peaceable agreement, was by a national strike, and for that reason a date had been set for a simultaneous demand by the local unions. It was reasoned that if the printers were "called out" in one city at a time, the employers in each city, having the non-unionists of the entire country to draw from, could obtain workmen. As difficulties multiplied in various places, the officers of the International decided to anticipate the date

⁸¹ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1905, p. 71.

⁸² *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 288.

which had been set and to make at once a general demand. Accordingly, on September 8 and 9, 1905, the International council instructed those local unions which were not bound by contracts to demand that the employers should sign immediately agreements to give the eight-hour day on January 1, 1906. Where the employers refused to grant the demand, the members were at once to cease work.⁸³

The strike which followed was unparalleled in extent in the history of the union. The members of the union who were working more than eight hours at the outbreak of the strike numbered about 30,000 out of a total membership of 47,000. Many of the book and job shops not affiliated with the Typothetae capitulated at once. On January 27, 1906, the International officers reported to the membership that 37,741 members were working eight hours; that 4977 were on strike,⁸⁴ and that 4626 were working nine hours under unexpired contracts.⁸⁵ As the contracts of other local unions expired, the number of strikers increased until at the end of February, 1906, 5079 printers were on strike. The number of strikers remained fairly constant at about 5000 for some months.⁸⁶

The Typothetae offices naturally made the most successful resistance. The United Typothetae supplied its members with non-union printers, drawn in part from the non-union shops in the large cities, but chiefly from the smaller and unorganized places. A "flying squadron" of

⁸³ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 417.

⁸⁴ In addition, about 1000 apprentices, pressmen, stereotypers, etc., were being paid benefits.

⁸⁵ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 28, p. 128.

⁸⁶ For an estimate of the cost of the strike, see p. 80; the effect of the strike on the membership and number of local unions is described on p. 157.

skilled printers was sent to places where the greatest trouble was experienced in operating the offices. The members of the "squadron" were scattered among the "struck" offices "to form a backbone as it were around which a permanent force could be built."⁸⁷ As had been anticipated, the other employers' associations rendered valuable aid. The secretary of the National Manufacturers' Association, for example, in a widely circulated letter, requested advertisers to allow their advertisements in the magazines to go unchanged for a time so as to save labor for the publishers during the strike.

The effect of the eight-hour strike was to sever completely the relations of the Typothetae and the union. Although the union was able to establish the eight-hour day in the trade, the greater part of the Typothetae offices were able to supply themselves with non-union workmen. The Typothetae has been, since then, strongly opposed to having the Printers unionize the offices of its members. The points of difference between the two organizations are so numerous and so important as to make it unlikely that relations will be resumed in the near future. The Typothetae is opposed to the union office, and to the union foreman; and the Printers regard these requirements as necessary for the enforcement of their trade regulations.

The development of bargaining between the union and the newspaper publishers has been along entirely different lines from that with the Typothetae. The American Newspaper Publishers' Association was organized in 1887; but for the first thirteen years of its history the Association did not concern itself with the relations of its members to the unions. During this period the chief function of the Association was the maintenance of a

⁸⁷ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1906, p. 15.

credit bureau, through which members were informed concerning the financial standing of advertisers and advertising agents. A series of difficulties with the Typographical Union in the years 1898-1900 led the local associations of newspaper publishers to strengthen their organizations. In 1898 the Chicago newspapers suspended publication for four days in a united resistance to the demands of the stereotypers, and the publishers signed an agreement not to deal separately with a union on strike.³⁸ In 1899 the Pittsburg publishers' association refused to agree to the demand of the Pittsburg typographical union for jurisdiction over the machine tenders and proof readers, and a general strike of the newspaper offices resulted.

These occurrences led the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, in February, 1900, to appoint a special standing committee to have charge of labor matters. The committee began its work by employing a commissioner, who was given charge of negotiations with the unions. The chief difficulty in forming an agreement with the Printers was that many members of the Association employed non-union printers.³⁹ If an agreement binding on all the members had been made, many publishers would have withdrawn, and the primary aims of the Association would have been sacrificed. Working within these limitations, the Association has directed its efforts, not to the establishment of a system of national collective bargaining, but to providing a method of peaceable adjustment for local disputes.

At the session of the International Typographical Union held at Milwaukee in 1900, Commissioner Driscoll

³⁸ *Typographical Journal*, Vol. 13, p. 58, *et seq.*; Proceedings, 1899, p. 66.

³⁹ In January, 1901, for example, of 125 reporting their relations with the unions, 74 had union composing rooms and 61, union stereotype rooms (Statistics of Daily Newspaper Offices for the Year 1901).

proposed the formation of an arbitration agreement, and the session instructed the executive council to negotiate such an agreement. Accordingly, a plan for arbitrating disputes was drawn up at a conference between the executive council of the Union and a committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. This agreement was submitted to a vote of the membership of the union and ratified by a large majority. The agreement provided that any member of the Publishers' Association who had a contract with a local union might enter into an additional contract with the International. In case of a dispute with a local union over the interpretation of the contract, the questions in dispute were to be submitted to local arbitration. If, however, local arbitrators could not be agreed upon, or if the finding of the arbitrators proved unsatisfactory to either party, the matter might then be submitted to the national board of arbitration, consisting of the president of the Typographical Union, the commissioner of the Newspaper Publishers' Association, and, in the event of their disagreement, of a third arbitrator selected by the board. The life of the arbitration agreement was limited to one year.

The essential parts of the arbitration agreement were (1) the provision that pending the decision of the board work should be continued in the office of the publisher, and (2) the compact that, "in the event of either party to the dispute refusing to accept and comply with the decision of the national board of arbitration, all aid and support to the employer or local union refusing acceptance and compliance shall be withdrawn by both parties to the agreement." As the arbitration agreement did not provide for the arbitration of all differences but only of those arising under a verbal or written contract, strikes might still occur at the expiration of a contract.

The agreement did not afford security against sympathetic strikes. According to a rule of the Typographical Union, subordinate unions were required to insert in all their contracts a clause providing that the contract should be null and void in case of the strike or lockout of any affiliated union, provided that such strike or lockout occurred "after all efforts of arbitration had failed." In 1901 Commissioner Driscoll secured the insertion of an additional proviso that such failure should be "through the fault of the employer"; and a year later the International repealed the rule.⁴⁰ The continuance of contracts under the arbitration agreement was thus made entirely independent of sympathetic strikes.

A further step in the development of the arbitration agreement was taken in 1902, when, at the expiration of the old agreement, a new one was negotiated for the term of five years. The new agreement was substantially identical with the old one except that it covered disputes arising over scales and hours in the making of new contracts. Naturally, the number of cases coming up to the national arbitration board increased greatly. Under the agreement as it stood prior to May 1, 1902, only one case was decided by the national board. In the year May 1, 1902, to May 1, 1903, twelve cases were settled under the revised agreement. This increase was not due chiefly to the increase in number of publishers who had arbitration contracts, but to the extension in the scope of the agreement. All of the twelve cases settled in 1902-1903 were disputes concerning the terms of new contracts.

The increasing number of cases subjected the agreement to a severe strain. The method of procedure in arbitration cases had been only roughly outlined, and the president of the Union asserted that, in certain cases, the

⁴⁰ Proceedings, 1901, pp. 109, 141; *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 140.

procedure had been of a kind to forfeit the right of the publishers interested to the protection of the agreement. In two cases he refused to act as an arbitrator; and the local unions were instructed to enforce, if necessary by strikes, their revised scales. The greater part of the irregularities complained of were easily corrected. The special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the executive council of the Typographical Union drew up a code of procedure governing future arbitrations, and a definite interpretation was given to certain sections of the agreement concerning which controversy had arisen.⁴¹

One of the questions thus settled, temporarily at least, was of great importance and illustrates a prime difficulty in the relations of the Union and the Publishers. In one of the cases which President Lynch refused to arbitrate, the publishers wished to bring before the arbitration board certain shop practices covered by the rules of the International. Many of the rules of the International and of the local unions define shop practices, and the employers were naturally desirous that such rules should be subject to arbitration. President Lynch held that under the agreement only hours and wages were to be arbitrated. In this decision, he was unanimously sustained by the next session of the International.⁴² The committee on arbitration thus defined the position of the union: "International Typographical Union law in existence at the inception of the arbitration agreement cannot be arbitrated for the reason that only by referendum vote can it be receded from or altered. The International Typographical Union constitution and by-laws, like those of the United States government, represent what the members

⁴¹ Proceedings, 1904, pp. 37, 38.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 153.

of this Union believe to be principles that cannot be arbitrated, and their arbitration was never contemplated. They are necessary to the life of the organization and must be maintained."

On May 1, 1907, a third agreement, to extend for five years, was concluded. It differs in important respects from the two earlier ones. In the first place, a local union may, if it sees fit, prevent the making of an International contract with a publisher. Hitherto, the contracts had been purely voluntary on the part of the publisher, but a local union could not prevent a publisher from obtaining such a contract. Secondly, the new agreement provides for the settlement of disputes by bargaining instead of by arbitration. It was believed that boards made up entirely of employers and unionists would give more satisfactory decisions than had been given by arbitration, since all the members of the boards would be intimately acquainted with the conditions of the industry. The local boards under the 1907 agreement consist of four members, two of whom are named by the local unions and two by the local publisher or publishers. In the event that a local board cannot reach a decision, the case is referred to the national board, consisting of the three members of the executive council of the International Union and the three members of the standing committee of the publishers. Thirdly, it is provided that the rules of local unions "affecting wages, hours, and working conditions" are to be subject to the decisions of the boards.⁴⁸

The chief advance made in the agreement of 1907 was the extension of the scope of the agreement to cover all the rules of the local unions relating to the conditions of employment. In the decisions rendered under the agree-

⁴⁸ Proceedings, 1906, p. 28.

ment, the national board has shown itself inclined to prevent the formulation by the local unions of new shop rules, and a considerable source of friction has thus been removed. The rules of the International Union are, however, expressly exempted from consideration.⁴⁴ It follows that a great part of the working conditions in union newspaper offices are still determined without any consultation with the Publishers. Such important regulations as "the priority law" and the rules relating to the exchange of matter, in so far as they rest on International rules, cannot be made a subject of dispute. The Publishers are far from satisfied with many of the existing trade regulations of the union. At different times the Commissioner has complained in his annual address to the session of the International concerning the following rules of the union: the "priority law", the rules governing the exchange of matter and the use of matrices, the requirement that the foreman shall be a member of the union, the rules requiring the employment of skilled workmen to do certain kinds of work, and the rules governing the "subbing" system.

Trade Agreements.—The practice of embodying in written documents—known as agreements—the terms of employment agreed upon by the unions and the employers is of comparatively recent origin in the printing trade. The International Union has advised the making of contracts for definite periods, wherever practicable; and the number of agreements has increased rapidly in recent years. As the union developed more and more fully a national policy, it became desirable to limit the power of the local unions to enter into contracts. In 1902 the International enacted the following rule: "No local union

⁴⁴In all the agreements it has been explicitly provided that the publishers covered by the agreements shall conduct closed shops.

shall sign a contract guaranteeing its members to work for any proprietor, firm, or corporation, unless such contract is in accordance with the International law and approved by the International president."⁴⁵ The most important exercise, as yet, of the power thereby conferred on the president was in connection with the introduction of the eight-hour day. In June, 1905, after the International Union had definitely set January 1, 1906, as the date for the introduction of the eight-hour day, the St. Louis local union, one of the most important in the country, obviously believing that the International Union would recede from its position, instructed its officers to sign a nine-hour contract with the St. Louis typothetae for three years.⁴⁶ The president of the International Union immediately suspended the charter of the St. Louis union until it rescinded its contract.⁴⁷

The principle is well established in the trade that an agreement includes only those union trade regulations in effect at the time it was made. A rule enacted after the signing of a contract is, therefore, ineffective so far as that particular publisher or association is concerned until the expiration of the contract. To some extent, therefore, the increasing number of agreements has been a check on the enactment of new local and national trade regulations, since if a new rule is adopted it can apply immediately to only a part of the employers.

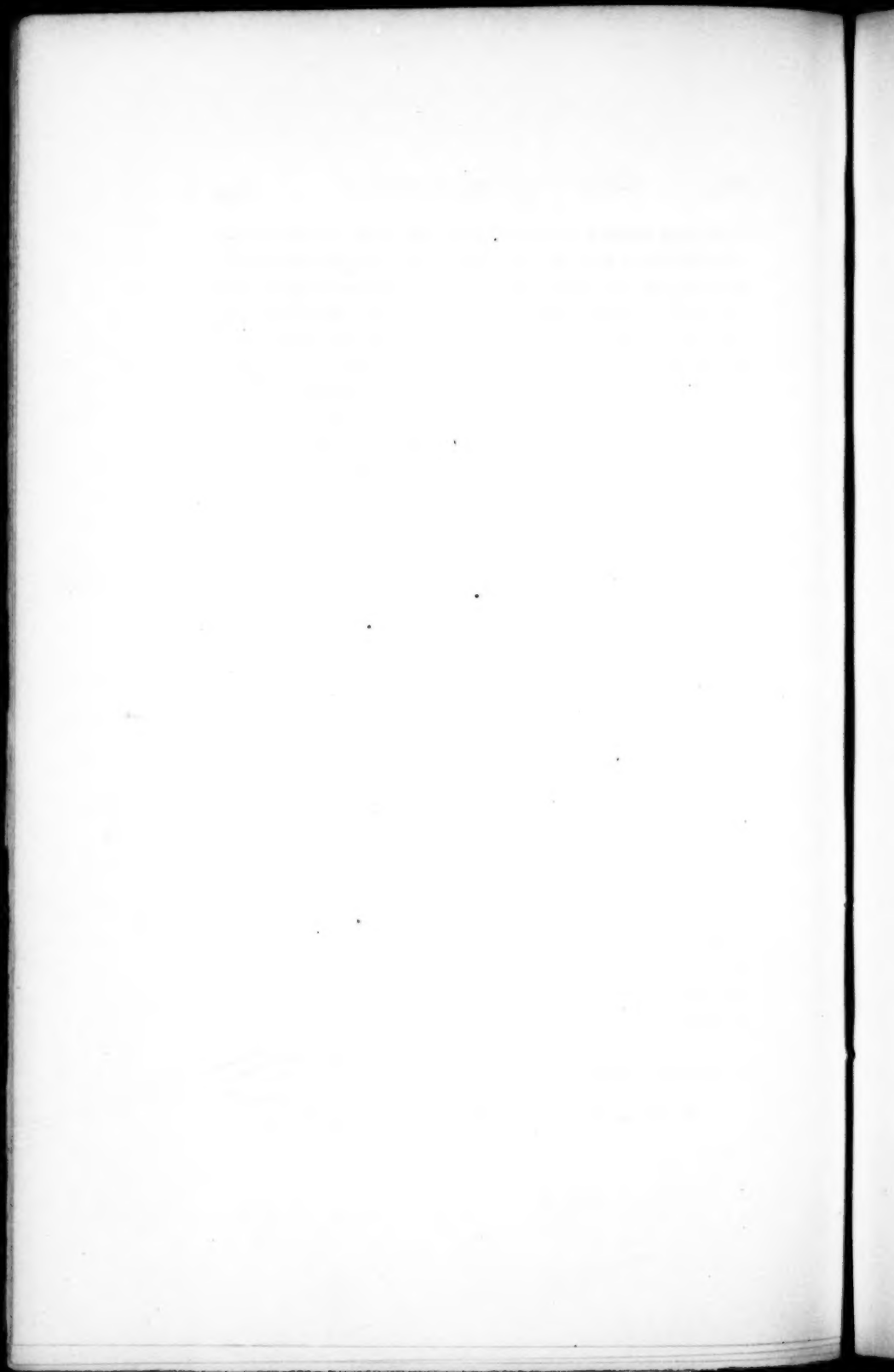
The methods of collective bargaining have developed by no means equally in all the local unions. In the smaller cities, where no associations of employers exist, the only advance made over the primitive method of bargaining

⁴⁵ Proceedings, 1902, p. 110.

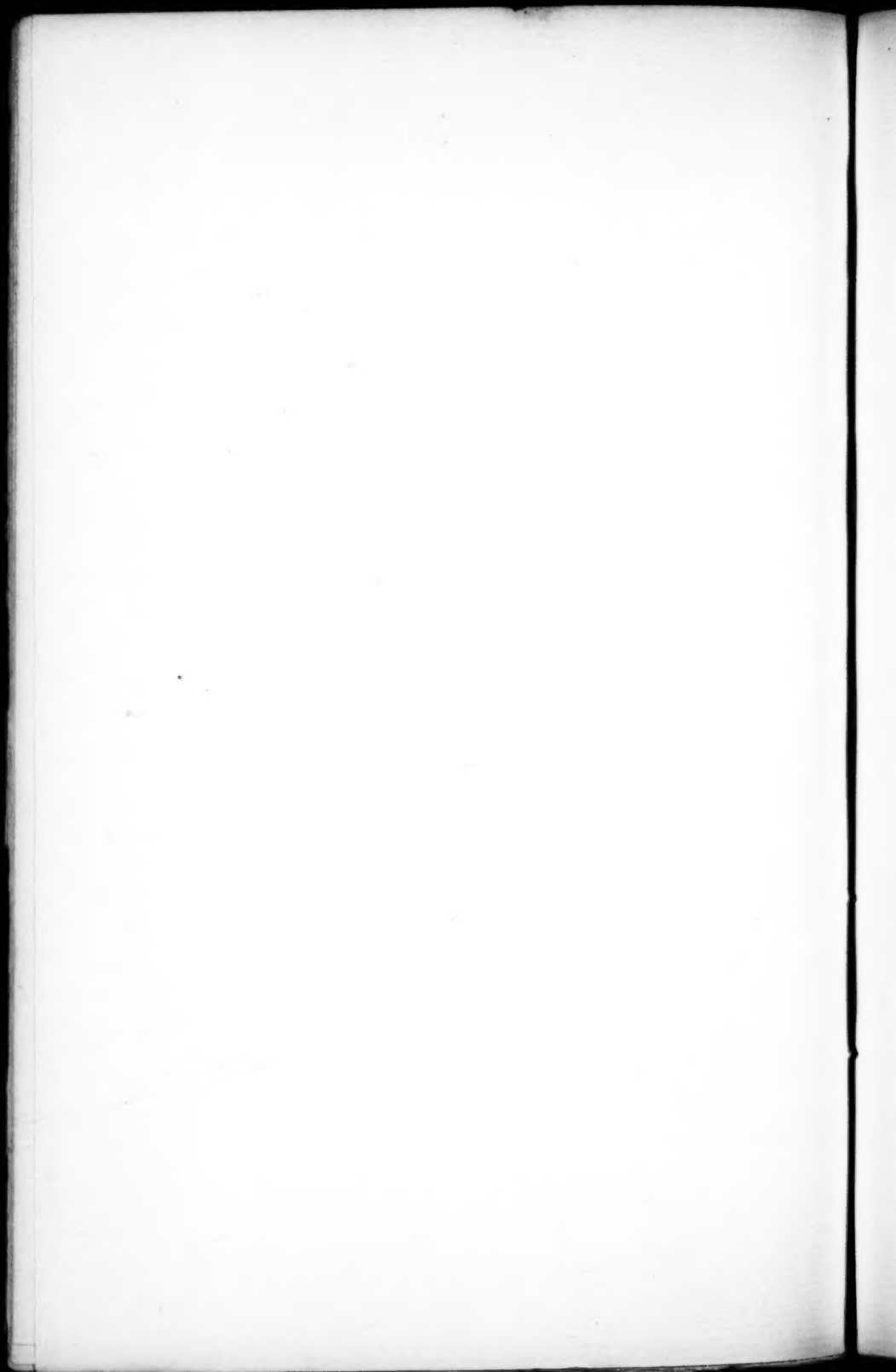
⁴⁶ Official Circular No. 9 (Sept., 1904) United Typothetae of America.

⁴⁷ Proceedings of the United Typothetae, 1904, pp. 178, 182.

is in the control exercised over the local unions by the International through its organizers. In general, industrial peace has been conserved by these officials; and ill-advised strikes, even in smaller places, are rarer than they once were. In the larger cities, collective bargaining is carried on to a very considerable extent by compact local associations of employers. The development, even here, must, however, be regarded as obviously incomplete. The contention of the International Union that its trade regulations are not subject to bargaining or arbitration excludes from joint determination a very important part of the conditions of employment, since the employers are as directly interested in the "priority law", for example, as they are in the scale of wages.



APPENDICES



APPENDIX I

[Minutes of the New York Typographical Society relating
to the Prosecution of the Journeymen Cord-
wainers of New York.]

Board of Directors, February 24, 1810:

The President presented a memorial from the Society of Journeymen Cordwainers of the City of New York which stated the disagreeable situation in which they were placed in consequence of a lawsuit now pending between them and their employers and their incapacity of carrying on the same without receiving some aid from their fellow tradesmen. The letter being read, it was moved that it be referred to the next general meeting—carried.

General meeting, March 3, 1810: A memorial from the Journeymen Shoemakers, praying for assistance to support an action brought against them by their employers was read. Mr. Andrews moved that the president be empowered to return a polite answer to the Memorialists, the question being called for, it was carried in the affirmative. Some remarks being made as to the legality of the proceedings of the Cordwainers' Society, the Secretary moved that Mr. Andrews' motion be reconsidered, which passed without a division. After hearing the observation of several members as to the manner and mode in which we should dispose of the memorial, the question was then put "shall Mr. Andrews' motion as it originally passed be adopted?" It was lost. Mr. Walker moved that a committee consisting of three be appointed to make a general enquiry into the suits now pending between the Journeymen Cordwainers and their employers and that they report the result of their enquiries to the board of directors on the second Saturday of the present month, after a few observations having been made, the motion was put and carried in the affirmative."

Board of Directors, March 31, 1810:

The Committee appointed to obtain information respecting the suit now pending between the Journeymen Cordwainers and their employers made the following report:

The grounds of the prosecution against the Cordwainers' Society by the Master Shoemakers appears to be in the letter of the law an unlawful combination for the purpose of raising and establishing wages: that is the head and front of the bill of indictment, though it contains several charges of trifling consequence some of which are false and groundless—that relative to apprentices particularly having not the least degree of truth attached to it. The President informed your committee that their cause would be brought on for trial the ensuing week and should judgment be given against them there, the determination is to carry it from court to court into the Court of Errors should judgment be given in each against them. Your committee did not feel themselves authorized by the powers vested in them to offer any arrangement in support of their cause but have left it to the management of the society. After some debate, a motion was made and carried that a committee of one should be appointed to answer the communications from the Cordwainers' Society—expressing the good wishes of this Board for the success of their cause and stating that from the recent exhaustion of our funds in assisting our own members who had stood out for wages, it was totally out of our power (at present) to render them the assistance required.

APPENDIX II

[Letter from the New York Society to the Philadelphia Society during the New York strike of 1809.]

New York, November 13, 1809.

Sir:

I received your letter of the 28th ultimo, acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 18th and 23rd; and thank you for the contents, which were peculiarly pleasing to the members of this society. But we have to regret that the communication of the 18th should have created so much trouble, upon a point evidently of little importance to either society. I must apologize for again troubling you. The Board of Directors, however, concerned for the honour of the members of this association, and in order to counteract the evil tendency of a report that this society had dissolved, and the members returned to their situations at the original prices (which we are told by persons arrived from Philadelphia have been circulated there) have directed me to inform you that they continue to persevere in the way they have begun. Most of the master printers have consented to give the prices, yet we have reason to believe that they only wait a favorable opportunity to destroy the society. Circular letters have been sent throughout this state, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, with a view to supply the daily papers with hands in the first instance, and afterwards the book offices. But we are rejoiced to say that as yet they have been defeated in their dishonorable designs. Several journeymen who arrived last week took the situations of those who had been discharged from one of the daily paper offices; but upon coming to a knowledge of their situation, immediately came forward and joined the society.

We know of no falling off yet, and believing that the

society will eventually succeed in their "laudable Struggle", would thank you to correct any wrong information which may have been received on the subject.

With the highest respect I am,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID H. REINS

Sec'y N. Y. T. Society.

APPENDIX III

[Extract from the Minutes of the New York Typographical Society, October 27, 1824.]

The President read the following letter from the Franklin Typographical Society of Boston. He was directed to answer it in a friendly manner, to inform them that our Constitution forbade entering into their views.

Boston, October 18, 1824.

Gentlemen:

Appointed a Committee by the Franklin Typographical Society, established in this city, to open a communication with our brethren of the same profession in the various parts of the United States, we embrace the present opportunity of stating to you our views. The object that appears to us the most desirable is a more efficient union than at present exists, between individual societies in the different towns. Many persons, respectable members of a society in one place, may become destitute or strangers in another, this would be prevented by a correspondence and union between the various institutions. For this purpose the officers of each society might be authorized to receive strangers and according to circumstances afford relief, such relief to be charged to the Society from which the member shall bear a certificate. On the expulsion or misbehavior of any member, it shall be the duty of the corresponding Committee, under an order from the Government, to notify such delinquent to the various Societys. We have a rule in our Constitution, by which every member, leaving town in a respectable manner, receives a certificate of faithful and present membership and recommendation, without possessing which they cannot be considered as members. A closer union would likewise operate usefully should we, at

a future day be obliged to assert our rights, and prevent an overflow of workmen. We merely mention these hints, hoping you will join in forming some plan by which we may be rendered more useful to each other and form a band of those who have served a regular apprenticeship, with all its expenses and troubles, to the exclusion of interlopers, who, without any legal claim, deprive the honest man of all the benefits to be derived from the most respectable trade in existence. We have forwarded, for your acceptance, a copy of our Constitution; since the list of members was printed a number of persons joined the Society, indeed scarcely a meeting passes without an addition. With many wishes for your prosperity and welfare, the Franklin Typographical Society themselves.

Gentlemen, Yours in Friendship

By order.

S. W. MORTIMER, Secretary.

To the members of the

New York Typographical Society.

P. S. Any communication addressed to S. W. Mortimer, Post Office, Boston, will be esteemed a favor.

APPENDIX IV

[Counter proposal of the New York Master Printers to the
New York Typographical Society.]

New York, October 26, 1809.

The master printers of the city of New York, having convened on the 25th instant, by public notice, to deliberate upon certain propositions which had been made to them by the journeymen for an increase of wages, unanimously (except in two or three trifling instances) adopted the subsequent resolutions. In presenting them to the consideration of the Typographical Society, they think it proper to remark, that, although no circumstances have come to their knowledge which would justify on the part of the journeymen a demand for more than the customary wages; yet, desirous of meeting them in the spirit of conciliation and harmony, and to remove every obstacle that might have a tendency to interrupt a mutual good understanding, the master printers have made considerable advances on the prices hitherto given, and to as great an extent as the present state of the printing business would admit. The scale which is now offered may, therefore, be considered as a *maximum*, beyond which it would be highly injurious, if not ruinous, to the interests of the trade to venture.

In behalf of the meeting.

J. SWORDS.

J. CROOKES.

G. BRUCE.

Committee.

COMPOSITION

Article I.—That works done in common matter, on Brevier or larger type, be paid for by ems at 24 cents, on Nonpareil 27 cents, on Pearl 29 cents per 1000, (except such as

hereafter provided for,) and those done in common matter on type larger than English to be counted as English.

Article 2.—That side, bottom, or cut-in-notes, be each of them, whether occurring together or separately, paid for at the rate of 25 cents per sheet; and should they exceed what is considered as moderate, the price shall be struck by the journeymen of the office and the employer. No charge, however, to be made for bottom or cut-in-notes, unless they, in the course of the volume, exceed in folio or quarto one page, octavo or duodecimo one and an half page, and in eighteens or smaller works two pages.

Article 3.—That works done in a different language from the English (though common type) be paid 30 cents for Minion and larger type; and 33 cents for smaller type.

Article 4.—If a quantity of Hebrew, Greek, or other dead characters, should be intermixed in a work, so as to be troublesome to the compositor, there shall be an additional charge according to the trouble. Works done in Hebrew shall be paid double; and in Greek shall be charged $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per 1000 higher than common matter; but if with separate accents $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents. The asper not to be considered an accent.

Article 5.—That making up a set of furniture for a work of five sheets or under, if an octavo, be paid 25 cents. All other impositions to be paid three cents extra, progressively, in proportion to the size.

Article 6.—That works done partly in figures and partly plain, such as arithmetical works, etc. be paid in proportion to the trouble; and that rule and figure work be paid double.

Article 7.—That broadsides, such as leases, deeds, etc. done on English or smaller type, be paid 30 cents per 1000 ems. Playbills, posting-bills, etc. to be paid for as may be agreed upon between the journeymen and employer.

Article 8.—That head and direction lines (the blank after the running title included) be calculated in the text; and that where there shall be a blank at the foot of the page, the same shall be calculated in the text.

Article 9.—Scabbarded works, (when the scabbards are not thinner than four to an em of the text) shall be charged two cents less than the solid matter. No more than one em shall be charged for blanks at the beginning and end of lines.

Article 10.—That algebraical works, or those where characters of music are the principal part, and works containing physical, astronomical, or other signs, be paid for at a medium to be agreed upon by the journeymen and the employer.

Article 11.—That time lost by alteration from copy, or by casing or distributing letter, be paid for at the rate of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour.

Article 12.—Journeymen employed on a daily paper by the piece shall receive 25 cents per 1000 ems.

Article 13.—Journeymen employed in book-offices, or on evening daily papers, shall receive seven dollars for their weekly services; and those on morning daily papers eight dollars. Eleven hours to be considered a day in a book or evening paper office.

PRESS-WORK

Article 1.—That book-work done on brevier or larger type, on medium or smaller paper, be paid 29 cents per token; on smaller type $31\frac{1}{4}$ cents. Royal paper, on brevier or larger type, $31\frac{1}{4}$ cents per token; on smaller type 34 cents. Super-royal paper, on brevier or large type, 34 cents per token; on smaller type $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

Article 2.—That jobs, folios, quarto, etc. be paid 30 cents per token.

Article 3.—That cards, if 50 or under, be paid 18 cents; any additional pack or packs, at 10 cents per pack.

Article 4.—That broadsides on foolscap be paid 30 cents per token; on medium 33 cents; on larger paper 40 cents.

Article 5.—That three cents per token be paid on works containing wood engravings.

Article 6.—That 26 cents be paid for putting a parch-

ment or linen tympan on a press at which the person who put it on is not employed; but nothing shall be charged when it is done by a pressman who works at the press.

Article 7.—If at any time it shall be requisite to take down a press, or any part thereof, an allowance of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour shall be made to each pressman employed at it, during the time they shall be prevented from proceeding in their regular work.

Article 8.—If a pressman be obliged to lift his form before it is finished he shall be allowed $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for the same.

Article 9.—That no journeyman working at press on a morning daily paper shall receive a less sum than eight dollars for his weekly services; nor those on an evening paper a less sum than seven dollars. If the quantity of work should exceed eight tokens per day, to be charged if a morning paper at 34 cents, if an evening paper at $31\frac{1}{4}$ cents per token.

APPENDIX V

SCALE OF PRICES

Established by the
NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
October 28, 1809

COMPOSITION

Works done in common matter, on Minion or larger type, 25 cents; Nonpareil, 27 cents; Pearl, 30 cents per 1000 ems. Above English to be counted as English.

Side, bottom, or cut-in-notes, be each of them, whether occurring together or separately, paid for at the rate of 25 cents per sheet; and should they exceed what is considered as moderate, the price shall be struck by the journeymen of the office and the employer. No charge, however, to be made for bottom or cut-in-notes, unless, in the course of the volume, they exceed in folio or quarto one page, octavo or duodecimo one and an half page, and in eighteen or smaller works two pages.

Works done in a different language from the English, (though common type) be paid 31 cents for minion and larger type; and 34 cents for smaller type.

If a quantity of Hebrew, Greek, or other dead characters, should be intermixed, so as to be troublesome to the compositor, there shall be an additional charge according to the trouble. Works done in Hebrew, without points, shall be paid double; and in Greek, without separate accents, shall be paid 15 cents per 1000 higher than common matter. The asper not to be considered an accent.

That making up a set of furniture, for a work of five sheets or under, if an octavo, be paid 25 cents. All other impositions to be paid three cents extra, progressively, in proportion to the size.

Works done partly in figures and partly plain, such as arithmetical works, etc. to be paid in proportion to the trouble. Rule and figure work to be paid double.

Broadsides, such as leases, deeds, etc. done on English, or smaller type, be paid 30 cents per 1000 ems. Play-bills, posting bills, etc. to be paid for as may be agreed upon between the journeyman and employer.

Head and direction lines, (the blank after the running title included,) be calculated in the text; and where there shall be a blank line at the foot of the page, the same shall also be calculated in the text.

Algebraical works, or those where characters of music are the principal part, and works containing physical, astronomical or other signs, be paid for as may be agreed upon by the journeymen and the employer.

Time lost by alteration from copy, or by casing or distributing letter, be paid for at the rate of 15 cents per hour.

On a daily paper, by the piece, to receive not less than 30 cents per 1000 ems.

In book or evening daily paper offices, to receive not less than eight dollars per week. On morning daily papers nine dollars.

PRESS-WORK

Book-work, done on Minion or larger type, on Medium or smaller paper, 30 cents per token; on smaller type, 33 cents. Royal paper, on Minion or larger type, 33 cents per token; on smaller type, 36 cents. Super-royal paper, on Minion or larger type, 36 cents per token; on smaller type, 39 cents.

Jobs, folio, quarto, etc. be paid 30 cents per token.

Cards, if 100 or under, be paid 30 cents; each additional pack 12½ cents.

Broadsides to be paid for at a rate to be fixed upon by the employer and journeyman.

Three cents per token extra to be paid on forms containing wood engravings.

If at any time it shall be requisite to take down a press, or any part thereof, an allowance of 15 cents per hour shall be made to the pressmen during the time they shall be prevented from proceeding in their regular work.

If pressmen be obliged to lift their form before it is finished, they shall be allowed 30 cents for the same.

No journeyman working at press on a morning daily paper, shall receive a less sum than nine dollars for his weekly services; nor those on an evening paper a less sum than eight dollars. If the quantity of work should exceed eight tokens per day, to be charged, if a morning paper, at the rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per token; if an evening paper, $33\frac{1}{4}$ cents per token.

I. HOIT, *Secretary*.
November, 1811.

D. H. REINS, *President*.

APPENDIX VI

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE SUBJECT OF: APPRENTICES TO THE PRINTING BUSINESS

Columbia Typographical Society,
Washington, February 7, 1835.

At a stated Meeting of the Society held this evening, the committee appointed on the 1st of November last, on the subject of Apprentices, made the following report:

REPORT

The Committee appointed on the subject of Apprentices, report:

That immediately after their appointment they entered on the duties required of them by the Society, by opening a Correspondence with the Employing Printers of the District, copies of the letters constituting which are herewith annexed. [This Correspondence being too voluminous for insertion here, is for the present deferred.]

In opening this Correspondence, the Committee hoped to obtain as well the opinions of the Employers on the subject, as the results of their experience and practical knowledge. It was plain to your Committee that, without the coöperation of the Employers, any plan for the adjustment of the number of Apprentices to the business would lack both efficiency and permanency; and would be also liable to objections on account of the compulsive measures requisite to enforce its observance—measures which it is desirable at all times to avoid against those whose true interests are indissolubly interwoven with our own.

The Committee are happy to say that their expectations with regard to the fruits of this Correspondence have been

realized. Not only do all the letters agree in the opinion expressed by the Committee that the present unrestricted mode of taking Apprentices is the fruitful source of growing evil, and requires a remedy, but the Committee are happy to say that one of the letters contains a plan for the regulation of this subject, which, with some modifications, they now present for the action of the Society.

This plan will be found in the letter of Mr. Force, one of the Employers, who is also an honorary member of the Columbia Typographical Society. The Committee unhesitatingly recommend it to the Society, after a patient examination of the whole subject, as by far the best which they could select calculated to effect the object in view. A mode directly limiting the *number* of Apprentices in our Printing Offices was thought to be, on examination,—so liable to injustice and abuse between the larger and smaller offices—so difficult in its maintenance, on account of anticipated objections on the part of the Employers—so embarrassing in its adjustment, on account of the constant fluctuations of the business—that the Committee unanimously determined to abandon it.

The Committee do not deem it necessary here to enter into an argument to show the necessity for some definitive rules on the subject of Apprentices to the Printing Business. What all admit to be true, it is unnecessary to add argument to support. The Employers as well as the Journeymen are melancholy witnesses of the fact, that, with an imperfect knowledge of the business, boys are now daily entering on the duties and taking upon themselves the obligations of Journeymen; that while the mechanical improvements of the age are gradually thinning the ranks of the Employed, the number of boys is increasing in our Printing Offices far beyond the corresponding wants of the business; that entering therein, as many of them do, with but the rudiments of education, their minds imbued not with the elements of social virtue, they bid fair to prostrate the intelligence, the character, and the consequent future usefulness of the profes-

sion; and the Committee therefore believe, that, with these facts before them, it is only necessary to present a plan combining just principles with a fair prospect of its efficiency, to ensure for it the undivided support of the Employers and the Journeymen.

In order further to advance the objects of the Society in this respect the Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the annexed Regulations respecting Apprentices be recommended for their adoption to the Employers of this District.

Resolved, That a committee of nine members be appointed to wait upon the Employers for that purpose; whose duty it shall also be to receive any modifications of the Plan proposed, suggested by the Employers, and report the same with their other proceedings to the Society.

REGULATIONS RESPECTING APPRENTICES

Agreed upon between the Employing Printers of the District of Columbia, at the suggestion of the members composing the Columbia Typographical Society.

Art. 1. No boy shall be taken in the Printing offices of the District of Columbia except as an Apprentice.

Art. 2. Every Apprentice shall serve until he is twenty-one years of age; and at the time of entering as such, shall not be more than 15 years of age.

Art. 3. Every boy taken as an Apprentice shall be bound to his Employer in due form of law.

Art. 4. A premium or fee of fifty dollars shall be paid by every apprentice, his guardian or parent, to his master, at the time of entering as an apprentice, except where a boy has not arrived at the age of fourteen years; and then no fee shall be demanded.

Art. 5. No runaway apprentice shall be received into any printing office in the District of Columbia, either as an Apprentice or Journeyman: *Provided*, however, that, if, on the death of his master, or other cause, an apprentice is

compelled to leave the office in which he has entered as such, he may be taken in any other office, with the consent of the Employer thereof, without the payment of an additional fee.

Art. 6. The above regulations to go into effect from and after the.....day of.....

Art. 7. From and after the.....day of..... the Employing Printers agree to engage the services of no Journeymen who shall not produce written evidence that he has faithfully served as an apprentice the period of his minority according to the regulations laid down for the government of Apprentices in the city or place in which he may have served his time.

The report and plan, together with the Correspondence accompanying it, were then read.

The question being on the adoption of the resolutions reported by the Committee—

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting, so far as they relate to the subject of Apprentices, be printed for the use of the members of the Society, under the direction of the Committee on the Subject of Apprentices.

After which, the Society adjourned to meet on Saturday next, the 14th inst.

Extract from the minutes:

JOHN STOCKWELL, *President*.

J. F. HALIDAY, *Secretary*.

The members of the Society will perceive that this whole subject now lies on the table; and in all probability, will come up for consideration on Saturday evening next. The great importance of the subject, and the consequent necessity for mature deliberation upon it, doubtless induced the Society to postpone a final action thereon until every member of the Society had been put in possession of its propositions. The members will also perceive that, although the plan has been first brought before the Society for its con-

sideration, its action thereon does not determine the subject, but, should it adopt it, simply places the Plan before the Employers as the recommendation of the Columbia Typographical Society.

WILLIAM WALTERS,
WILLIAM W. CURRAN,
JUDAH DELANO,
MATTHEW WILSON,
E. B. ROBINSON,
Committee.

APPENDIX VII

NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP OF LOCAL UNIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

1853-1908¹

Year	Total No. of Unions	Total No. of Members	No. of Local Unions of Allied Trades	No. of Members of Local Unions of Allied Trades
1853	12	2,112		
1854	9	1,512		
1855	11	2,039		
1856	9	666		
1857	16	1,306		
1858	20	2,181		
1859	23	2,362		
1860	34	3,492		
1861				
1862	20	1,585		
1863	23	1,875		
1864	36	2,577		
1865	38	2,477		
1866	62	4,013		
1867	72	5,224		
1868	77	6,095		
1869	79	7,563		
1870	90	7,657		
1871	98	8,725		
1872	100	8,724		
1873	105	9,797		
1874	106	9,819	2	63
1875	102	9,245	3	109
1876	98	8,624	2	91
1877	74	6,900	3	118
1878	69	4,260	3	111

1879	60	5,968	3	108
1880	76	6,520	6	250
1881	91	7,931	6	205
1882	95	10,439	7	308
1883	135	12,273	9	546
1884	161	16,030	12	613
1885	152	16,183	14	607
1886	191	18,484	22	1,418
1887	189	19,190	27	1,608
1888	213	17,491	30	1,108
1889	235	21,120	25	757
1890	204	22,608	18	545
1891	309	25,165	(2)	(2)
1892	313	28,187	(2)	(2)
1893	333	30,454	(2)	(2)
1894	354	31,379	(2)	(2)
1895		29,295	(2)	(2)
1896	315	28,838	(2)	(2)
1897		28,096	(2)	(2)
1898	346	28,614	(2)	(2)
1899	376	30,646	77	2,973
1900	411	32,105	91	3,541
1901	465	34,948	98	3,548
1902	559	38,364	45	1,745
1903	699	42,436	62	1,705
1904	692	46,165	41	1,330
1905	690	46,734	36	1,299
1906	642	44,980	26	1,174
1907	573	42,357	20	1,071
1908	618	43,740	21	1,159

¹ The number of unions and the membership are given as reported to the officers of the International Union by the local unions. The statistics are far from accurate for any particular year until about 1884, since the local unions frequently failed to report and many which did report systematically understated their membership in order to avoid the payment of dues.

² For the period 1891-1898, inclusive, the statistics for the local unions of allied trades cannot be separately ascertained.

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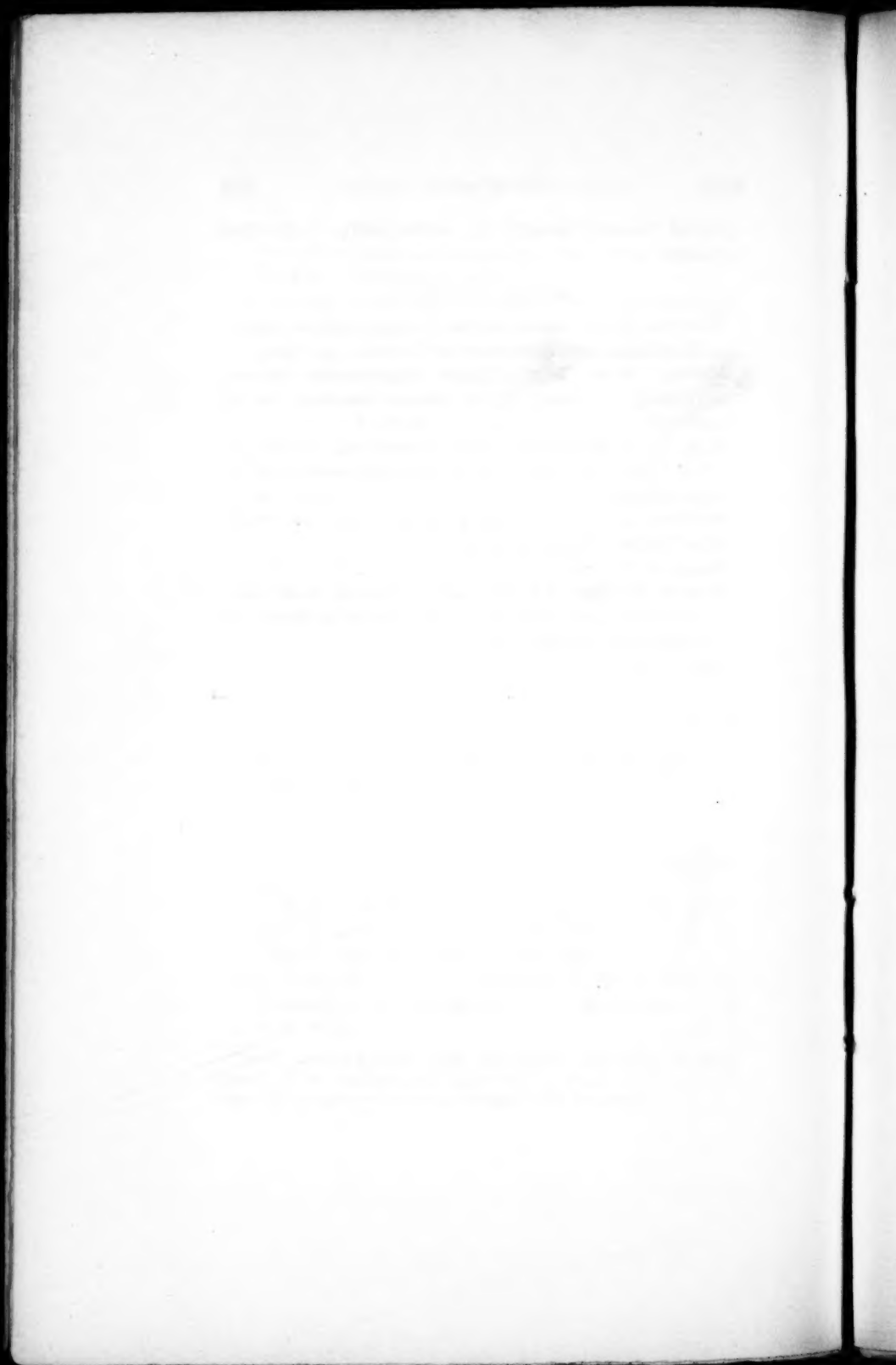
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